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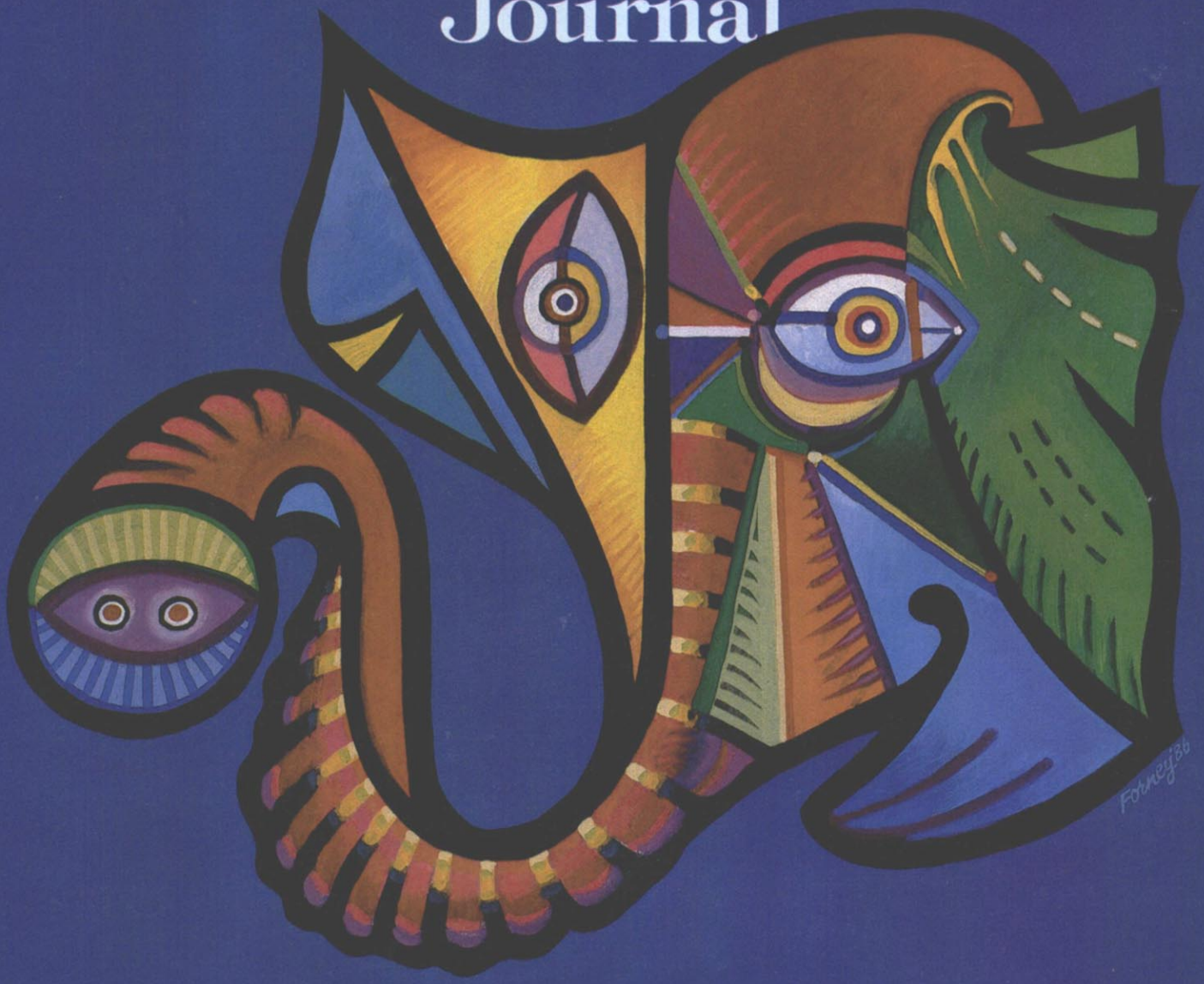

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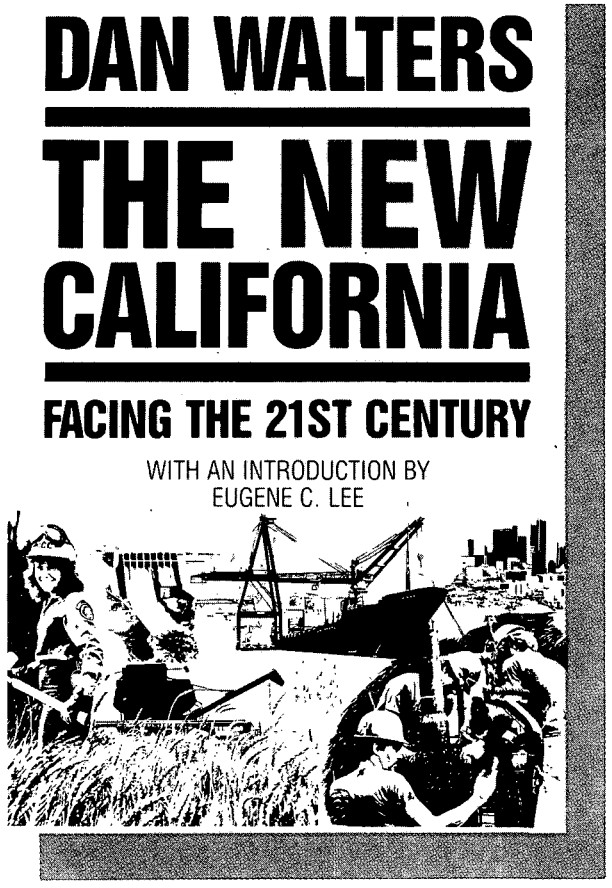

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with an introduction by Eugene C. Lee

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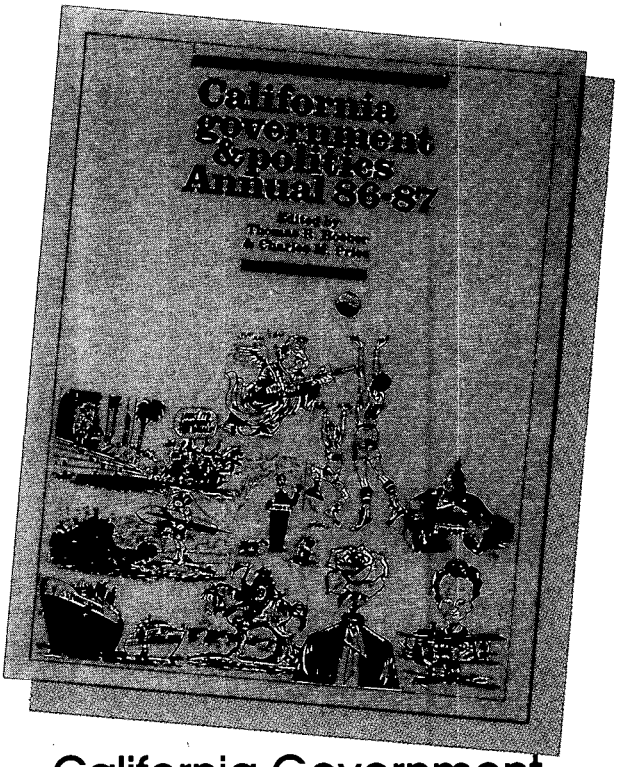

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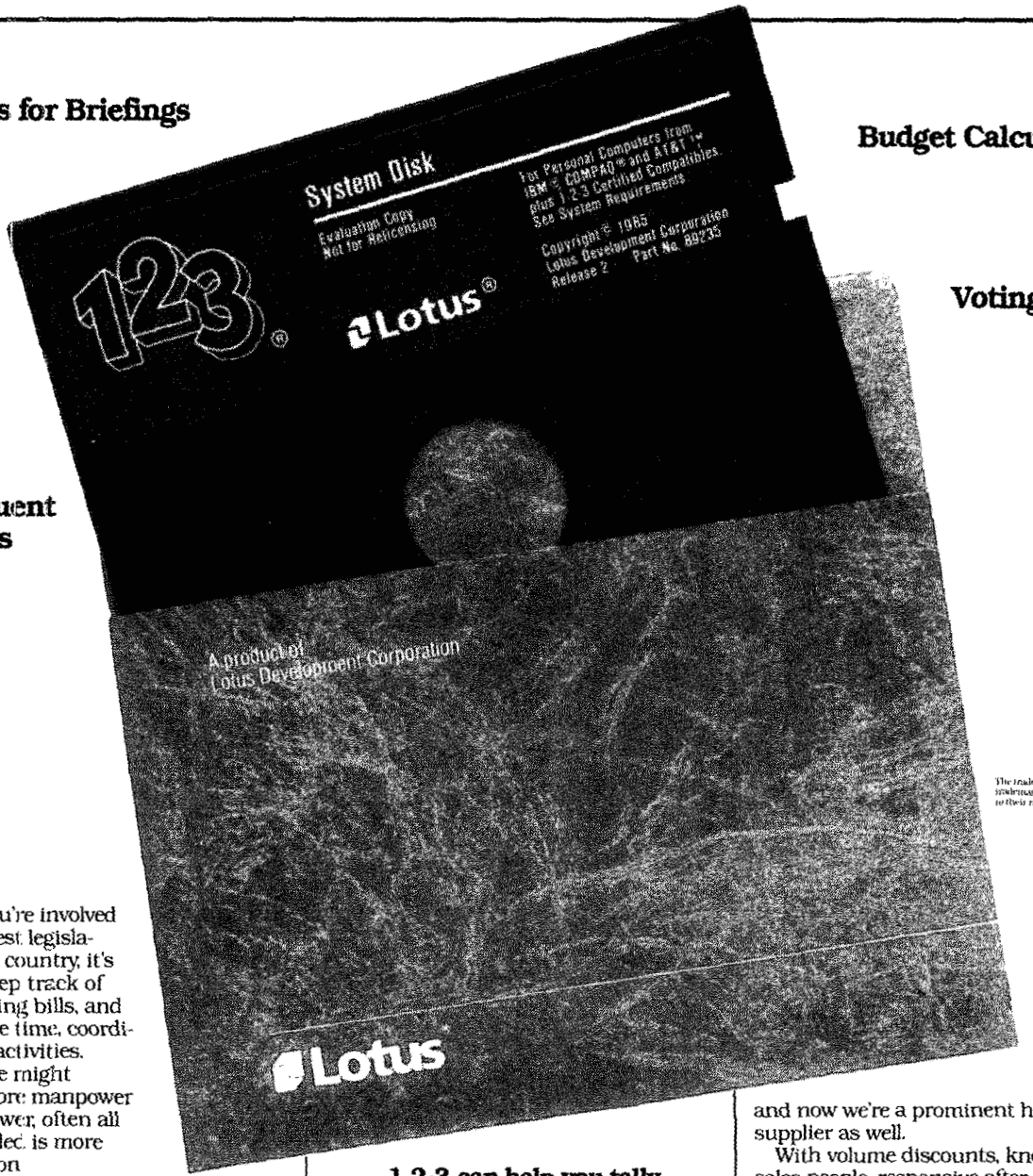

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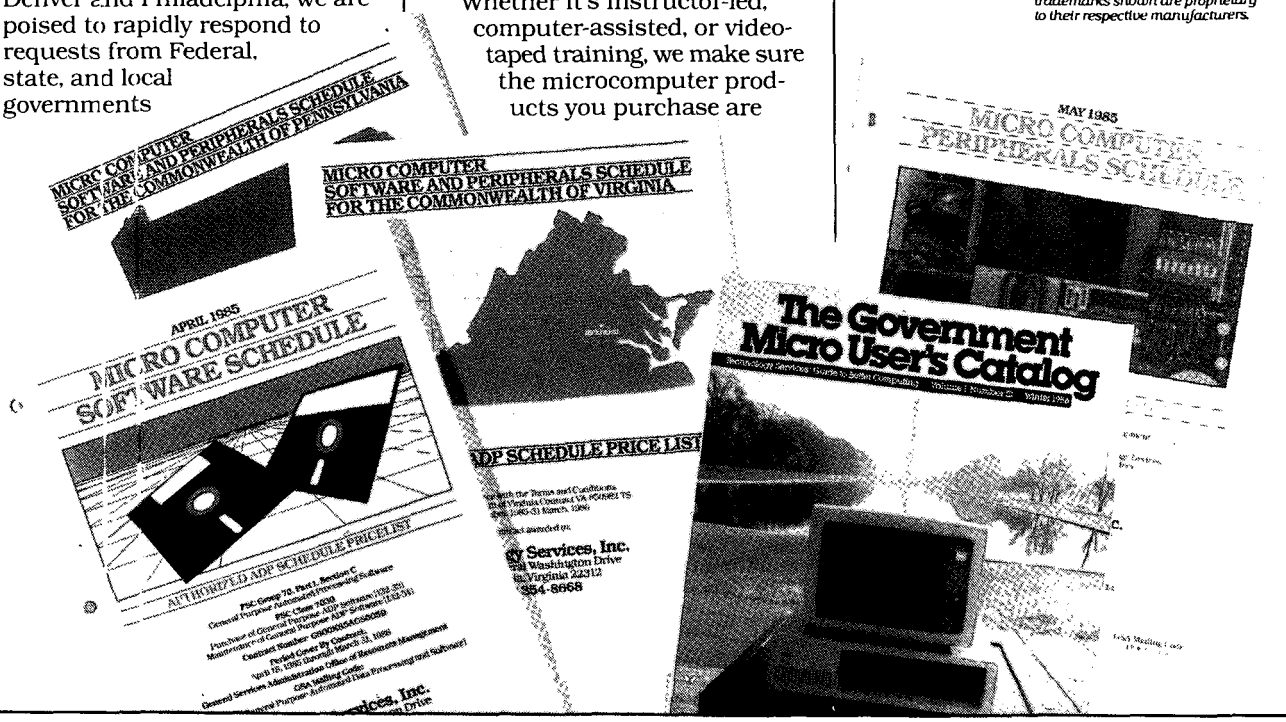
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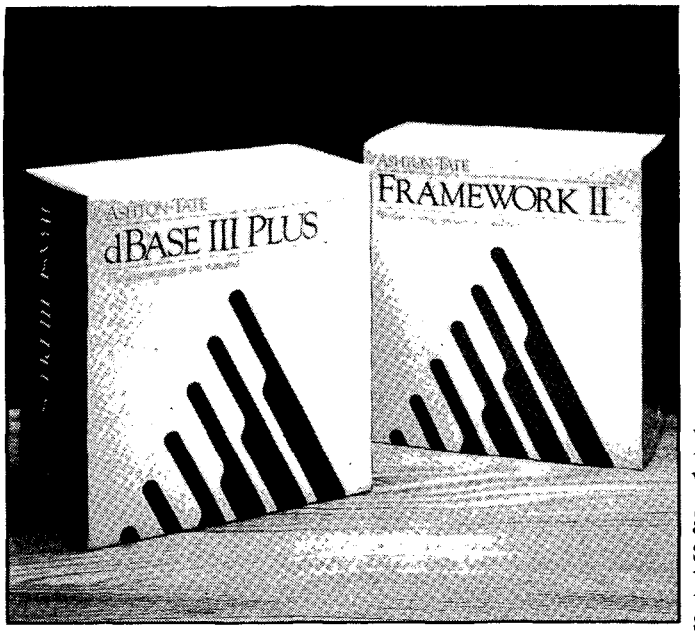

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CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS
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STAFF: Hope Tuttle, Mary E. Gillis, Karen Sullivan

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CONTENTS

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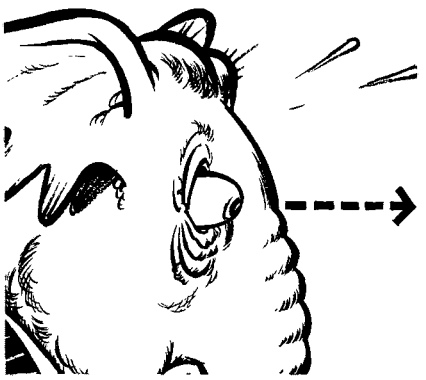
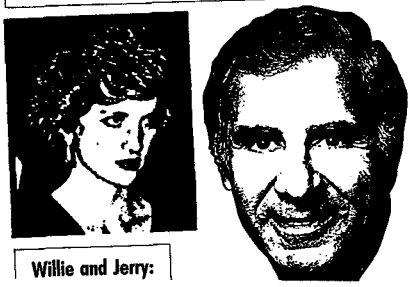


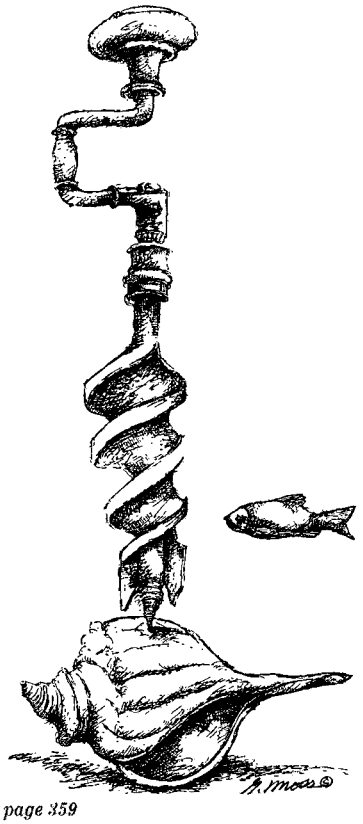
See page 330

DUKE and DI?
The real story behind the fainting . . .



Willie and Jerry:

See page 335



See page 359

The new Republicans *by Jeff Raimundo* **330**

The Grand Old Party is rapidly becoming the majority party in California, but the new growth is bringing with it some very untraditional Republicans.

Expo '86 *by Laura Mecoy* **335**

For all the money poured into California's Pavilion at the Vancouver fair, people come to it to see where Princess Di fainted.

***California Journal's* '86 Election Analysis** **337**

A district-by-district analysis of all primary results, including those for constitutional officers, board of equalization and ballot measures.

Alternative Energy *by Niels Erch* **353**

California has an energy glut, which has made life a little tougher for those involved with non-traditional methods for generating electricity.

Kern County Oil *by Bruce Scheidt* **358**

Falling oil prices have brought hard times to oil-rich Kern County.

Offshore Oil *by Jeff Raimundo* **359**

Oil companies want to drill off the California coast; state lawmakers don't want them to; and the Deukmejian administration doesn't seem to know what it wants.

Up Front 328
Ballot Front 363
Roll Call 364
Leo Rennert 366

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UP FRONT

That's pronounced "Duke-may-gin." There are little signs that perhaps the governor's name identification isn't all it could be in Southern California. Take, for example, the May 20th issue of the *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, the governor's hometown newspaper. The paper ran a photograph of the state's elected officials taking their "class picture." Seated next to the governor on one side was Assembly Speaker Willie Brown; on the other, Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti. Only problem, the photo caption identified Brown as the governor, and vice versa. Maybe that's why, the day after the primary election, the governor took a "walk through" the old neighborhood. Apparently, he was recognized.

While you were out: Most Friday afternoons, members of the Capitol press corps slip away for an early start on the weekend — a fact well known around the governor's press office. So, the press office chose a Friday afternoon to announce the resignation of state Insurance Commissioner Bruce Bunner who had been under fire from Democrats for being too easy on the insurance industry. Actually, the press office never directly announced Bunner's departure at all. It announced the hiring of his replacement — Roxani Gillespie. Kevin Brett, Governor Deukmejian's press spokesman, denied trying to slip some potentially embarrassing news past reporters. He said it was standard procedure to announce replacements, not resignations, for department directors. And if you believe that . . .

Rodney Dangerfield Award One: To Larry Thomas, Governor Deukmejian's campaign director. On the night his boss won an overwhelming primary victory, Thomas had to talk his way into the Republican Party's primary night bash in Los Angeles. Seems someone forgot to add his name to the guest list or to make a name tag for him. Hey, what else could Thomas be but a Republican?

(Laura Mecoy, Sacramento)

Rodney Dangerfield Award Two: To John Larson, chairman of the Fair Political Practices Commission. On election night, Larson and his wife were turned away from Secretary of State March Fong Eu's election headquarters, located down the street from Eu's main offices in Sacramento. Seems he couldn't talk his way past two state policemen guarding the entrance. The troopers even consulted a Eu aide who told them Larson first had to secure a pass from the main office. That was apparently enough for Larson who, it was reported, left in a snit. Only moments before Larson arrived, the commission's new executive director, Greg Baugher, had been admitted — without a pass — and was inside gabbing with reporters at the very moment his boss was sent packing.

Everything they touch turns to manure. Conservative GOP assemblymen closely allied with Republican Minority Leader Pat Nolan (known as "Nolanistas" or "cavemen") had a field day during the recent primary. They backed hand-picked disciples in five contested Republican Assembly races and in the process managed to alienate just about everyone outside their own Southern California districts. They ended up losing three of the five and, in one case, may actually have sabotaged the very candidate they were trying to help. That happened over Kern County way where, only a week before the vote, private polls showed Anna Allen with a comfortable lead over Trice Harvey in the 33rd District. The Nolanistas originally backed Harvey but at the last minute poured a lot of money behind Allen (see analysis, page 351), spicing the campaign with hit-piece mailers against their former ally. They botched the job so badly that the race dissolved into a "them against us" affair, with local Republicans rallying around the embattled Harvey. Although Harvey eked out the win, the Nolanistas' attack so weakened him that Republicans are now in danger of losing a district that should be theirs for the asking.

Pollsters don't know everything. On the bright May morning when Mervin Field's *California Poll* was released showing Governor George Deukmejian trouncing Democrat Tom Bradley by 22 points, the governor held a press conference to announce his support for Proposition 43 — the local parks' measure approved by voters in June. The conference was held outdoors, near the Capitol's trout pond, and attended by a host of school children on field trips to Sacramento. So, who got the biggest round of applause when introduced to the crowd? Not the governor. The loudest cheer went to "Cali the Quail," the Department of Parks and Rec's six-foot stuffed-toy mascot who showed up to tout Prop 43 and hold wings with the governor.

Speaking of stuffed quail, "Cali" is the silliest-looking promo this side of "The Crab" — the late, lamentable mascot regularly booed by San Francisco Giants' fans during the 1985 season. "Cali" looks like a feathered reincarnation of "the poor soul,"

one of comedian Jackie Gleason's characters whose bewildered expression foretold imminent disaster and embarrassment. In the photo above, Cali is the one on the, er, left.

Ask not for whom the road tolls. The folks at the Antioch Rotary want to do their part to help the Deukmejian administration reduce state bureaucracy. Club President Len Herendeen discovered state bridge toll takers on the Highway 160 bridge across the San Joaquin River have to collect a 10-cent fee from every bicycle rider. To do this, they must stop traffic and cross traffic lanes to collect the money. Herendeen figures in a good year the state picks up, tops, $70. So they sent $70 to Caltrans Director Leo Trombatore to cover 700 crossings. If there's any extra, it can be applied to "any remaining balance to the outstanding bonded indebtedness for the bridge." Caltrans' response to all this? It's been referred to the Transportation Operations Division where the department

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will be "exploring the legal and operational steps that would have to be taken before accepting your offer." We know the guys in Antioch were trying to be helpful, but the legal fees for the state to figure this one out will probably cost a good 100 years' worth of bicycle tolls.

On July 1st, the governor of California will have left a major cabinet post vacant for 242 days. (Former Secretary of Health and Welfare David Swoap resigned on November 1, 1985.) At a Los Angeles press conference held during mid-June, Governor Deukmejian said he didn't know when his administration would replace Swoap.

The political surprise of the primaries was the victory of unknown Bruce Gleason in the Republican primary for attorney general. He spent only $9000 but managed to win and will oppose Democrat John Van de Kamp in the fall. Some political wags believe Gleason was propelled to victory after his name appeared on a slate mailer sent to two million Republican households by opponents of Proposition 51, the deep-pockets initiative. Although Gleason supported the initiative, he paid $2500 to get on the slate mailing, saying he didn't know the slate was going to oppose 51. But the rumor on the street is that he would have been named on the mailer even if he hadn't paid. Opponents of 51 figured Gleason was the weakest of the three Republicans, and they wanted to boost his candidacy as a favor to Van de Kamp who had gone out on a limb to campaign against 51.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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Montesquieu

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The new Rep

By JEI

It has become the party of gay activists, supporters of abortion, hard-rocking youths, laboring rednecks and idling blue-bloods. It is at the same time the political sanctuary of Black Opportunity evangelist Eldridge Cleaver and fundamentalist Christian evangelist Jerry Falwell.

Winning support from electoral newcomers, disgruntled Democrats and disaffected dropouts, the Republican Party is moving toward political equality, if not dominance in California. But the birth of a new GOP is not coming without some significant labor pains.

The broadening base is forcing moderation, particularly on social and domestic policy issues, down the throats of the conservative wing that has dominated the party for three decades. And — perhaps more significant — the resulting philosophical debate is beginning to split the party in ways unprecedented in recent years, leading some veteran Republicans to worry openly that the divisions could prevent the Reagan Revolution from ever reaching its hoped-for conclusion: creation of a true Republican majority in America.

At the heart of the conflict is the nature of the new breed of Republican. Converging simultaneously on the GOP are unsettled, libertarian baby boomers and Yuppies, along with hard-line, New Right and Christian Right ideologues who take a fundamentalist view of both the Bible and the Republican platform.

Nowhere was the split more keenly focused than in the just-concluded U.S. Senate primary campaign. Silicon Valley Congressman Ed Zschau, the embodiment of the non-ideological boomer spirit, battled down to the wire for the nomination with Los Angeles television commentator Bruce Herschensohn, a rigidly conservative champion of the New Right. In the end, an emerging majority of politically flexible moderates demonstrated that the California Republican Party is no longer the private domain of the political purists of the right. And the evidence was reinforced elsewhere on the June primary ballot. Former Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb, whose conservative credentials are blurred by the lack of a clear-cut political profile, won easy nomination over arch-conservative state Senator H. L. Richardson for the right to challenge incumbent Democratic Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy. And Assembly Republican Leader Pat Nolan was rebuked by GOP voters in three out of the five races in which, at a cost of $700,000, he tried to push through the nomination of selected, uncompromising conservatives over candidates backed by local party leaders.

The effort to embrace both the emerging moderate and the more traditional conservative philosophies under the Republican banner is putting uncommon strains on the GOP, creating sharply split factions that bear a striking resemblance to the "special interest groups" Republicans have long ridiculed in the Democratic Party.

While California has elected a Republican governor, overwhelmingly approved favorite son Ronald Reagan and have put Pete Wilson in the U.S. Senate, the state generally remains Democratic. Most constitutional officers are Democrats, Democrats are assured control of both houses of the Legislature at least through 1988 and a dwindling majority of the state's voters are still registered Democratic. But a recent survey by Mervin Field showed that, for the first time since he began testing voter sentiment in 1958, as many Californians now identify with the Republican Party as with the Democratic Party— about 45 percent in both cases. A similar poll in 1984 found Democrats enjoyed a 49 percent to 41 percent edge.

Jeff Raimundo is deputy Capitol Bureau Chief for the Sacramento Bee.

A rightward shift

With gathering momentum over the past several years, economic, social and political events both at home and abroad have generated a rightward shift in public sentiment that clearly has benefited the Republican Party. For a variety of reasons, it has been embraced by a younger, more ethnic and more economically and philosophically divergent phalanx of newcomers than ever before.

At the same time, leaders like President Ronald Reagan and Governor George Deukmejian, nice guys who seldom have allowed their bite to match their bark, have helped sugarcoat a rigidly conservative ideology unacceptable to a majority of Americans for nearly three decades. Idolized by California Republicans, those conservative leaders have helped to redefine "middle of the road" and the not-so-silent majority.

A major bloc of newcomers to Republicanism are the libertarian younger baby boomers and Yuppies. Pollster Stephen Teichner has found that almost half of all Republicans

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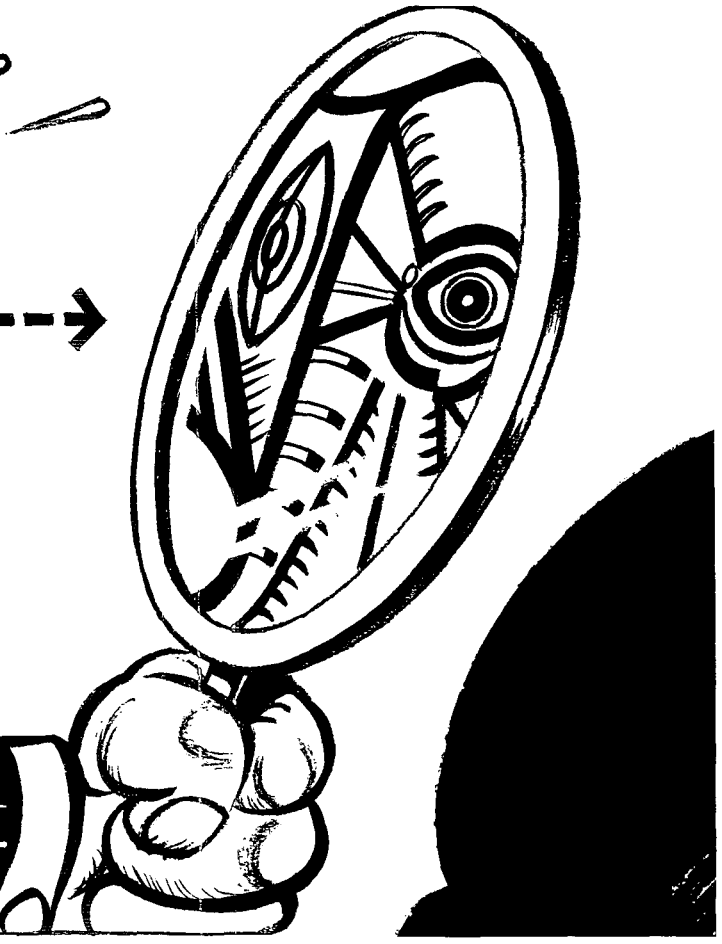

blican Party

MUNDO

and a majority of those newly signed by the party are 35 years old or younger. Many of them were delegates to the state party convention in March which rejected an anti-abortion resolution (backed by Deukmejian) to cut taxpayer support for family planning agencies and endorsed improved sex education in the schools.

Talk of prayer in public schools never came up at the convention, perhaps for the first time in years. A subcommittee blocked a resolution endorsing the voucher system of tax support for private schools. And for the first time in recent memory, delegates adopted no resolutions calling for tax reductions or major cutbacks in government spending. For nearly a decade, those have been litmus test issues for a party dominated by New Right activists.

The moderate faction is conservationist, feels government does have a role in providing basic human services to its citizens and believes strongly in an individual's personal freedoms. Many believe the Reagan-era slashes in federal domestic programs have cut as deeply as they can.

"The social agenda and viewpoint of organized parts of the Republican Party is in many cases 180 degrees out of step with the values of many of these people coming into the party," says independent pollster and analyst Teichner. "Their mess is not as big as the Democrats', but Republicans have some very real long-term problems, too. There's an expectation (among the newcomers) that the party is going to have to deliver on."

The conservative rhetoric is still there, of course, on foreign policy, national defense and economic issues. Echoing throughout the convention hotel one late night during a rocking party of young Republicans was a chorus of voices chanting "Contras, united, will never be defeated" — a youthful ratification of President Reagan's plea for increased military aid to rebel forces in Nicaragua.

Fundamentalists

Much of that kind of attitude is fueled by the second group of new-breed Republicans, represented by the fundamentalist Christians rallied to political activism by evangelical leaders such as Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson (who is considering his own campaign for the presidency in 1988). They bring with them a much more narrowly-focused view of the world, concentrating on prayer in the schools, crusades against abortion and a vision of the global superiority of "Christian America."

In California, Richardson is working to establish a network of lay church leaders — he calls it the "Salt Network" after the biblical call to Christians to become "the salt of the earth" — who would provide a grassroots political force for conservatives. He hopes the group will mobilize their congregations for such things as get-out-the-vote drives, letter-writing campaigns and occasional marches to the Statehouse.

Many of the Christian Right activists were political agnostics before, but their leaders have realized and demonstrated that their collective action can have a significant impact on governmental policies that deal directly with what they view as moral issues — most significantly abortion. They are among the most loyal Reaganites, finding such heroes in the Reagan administration as Attorney General Edwin Meese.

Christian Right candidate Rob Scribner, a former football player, won the GOP primary nominaton in the 27th Congressional District, a seat now held by Democrat Mel Levine of Santa Monica, with a strong appeal to his Christian constituents. A lay minister in the Church of the Four-Square Gospel, Scribner angered many Republicans and Democrats alike in the area when he sent out a letter that many interpreted as anti-Semitic. "I hope you will agree to link arms with us as we literally 'take territory' for our Lord Jesus Christ," he said in a fund-raising letter to many in the district, which has a high proportion of Jewish voters.

The Religious Right does not seem to be making the same high-impact inroads in California that it is making in many parts of the South and Midwest. But because of the activism of that new group, compared with the non-ideological and impressionable lack of focus of the other newcomers, the influence of the Christian party members is likely to exceed their numbers. Veteran Republican political consultant Stuart Spencer, a key strategist for President Reagan's 1980 and '84 presidential campaigns, warns that the GOP could squander its opportunity to attract the boomers and others searching for a new political niche if it allows the far right to control the party's message. "Realignment is going to come about only if the GOP can hit the button on the baby boomers," he says. "Right now, they want a balanced budget . . . a strong defense and they want to smoke pot."

During his recent Senate campaign, Ed Davis characterized himself as "a conservative with a heart." He, too, worries

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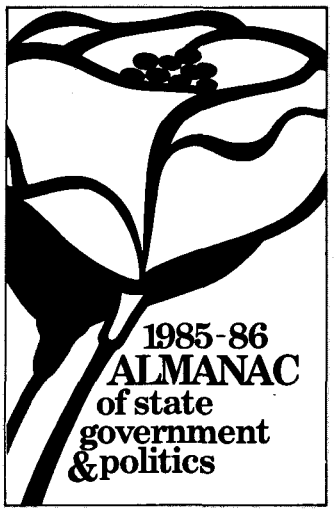

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openly about the future direction of the GOP, particularly that the more activist evangelicals will seize control of the agenda of the party even though they are outnumbered by the more moderate boomers.

"I don't want anyone's religious dogma," says Davis. "I believe in a very complete separation of church and state, and Jesse Helms doesn't. I think if the Republican Party is going to become the majority party some things are going to have to change," says the state senator from Valencia. "I think we still have some of that stuffed shirt image that waspish people feel comfortable with but other people don't feel comfortable with.

"We don't get the Joe McGee Black guy or the guy with a different sexual orientation. If the party is to gain the majority for any appreciable term, it has to be something other than what we consider orthodox Republican. The bulk of the Reagan Republican agenda should be retained, its economic policies for example. But the Republican Party should also be the party of civil liberties. It was until 1929, but it has lost that. The Republican Party should again become the party of the downtrodden and unprivileged."

No more tests

Demographer Dick Dresner, who conducts polling for California Senator Pete Wilson and other Republicans, agrees that the biggest danger to continued growth of the GOP would be success by the far right in pushing its anti-abortion, school-prayer, moral-righteousness agenda. "The last thing these new people want is government telling them what they can do in their personal lives," Dresner says. "This could destroy the progress they've made. If the right-to-life people

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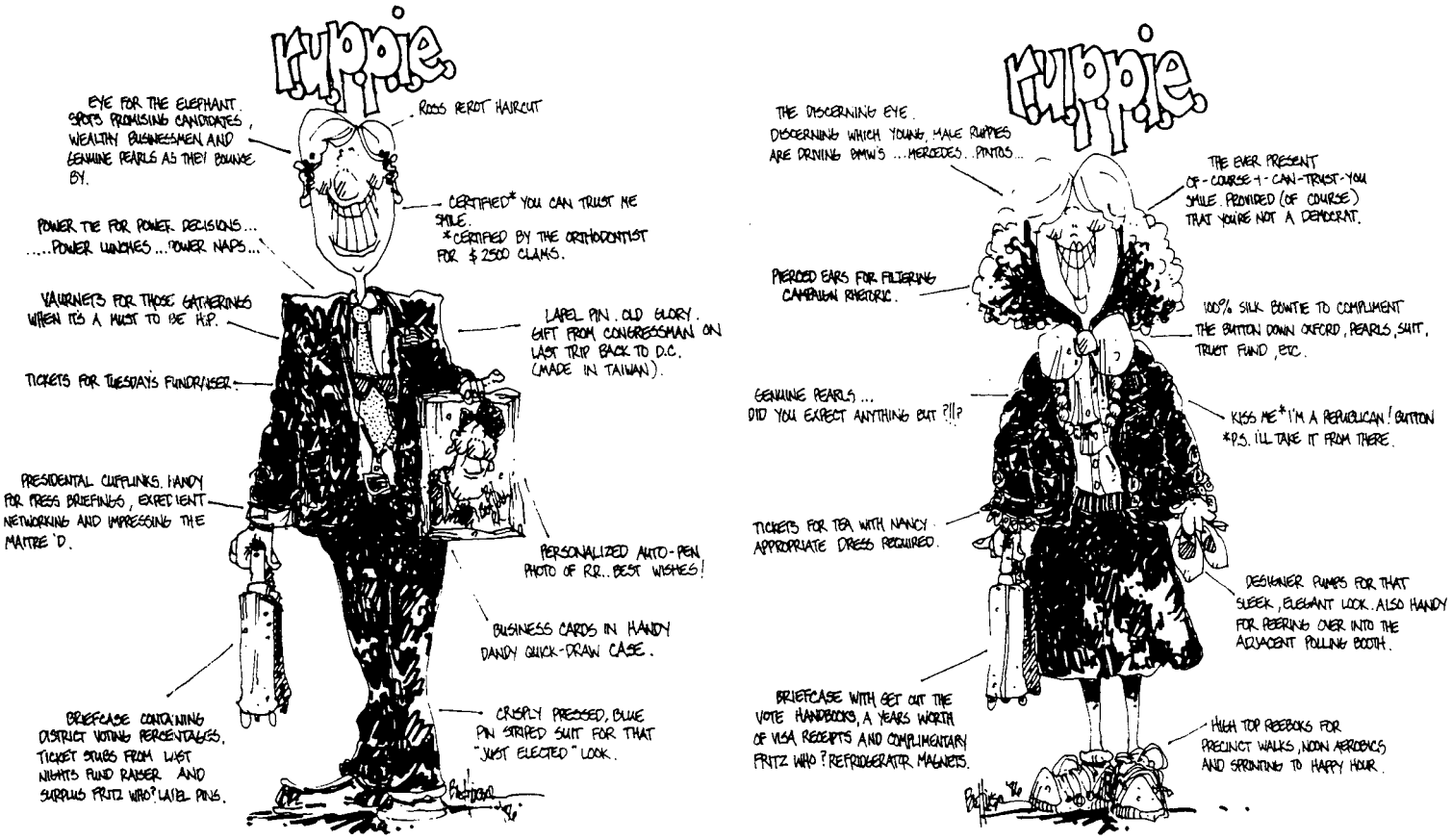
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"Ruppies!" These two, adorable little creatures are the work of Hermosa Beach artist B. K. Hixon. According to the artist, they're the brainchild of Senate Minority Leader Jim Nielsen. "Ruppie," of course, is a Republican Yuppie.

are successful in pushing an abortion amendment or school prayer, they might turn a whole lot of people off, particularly in California."

But state Republican Chairman Clair Burgener is one who is optimistic that that won't happen. "The litmus test is dead," he says, drawing comfort from the ease with which the party has embraced Zschau. "The one thing that unites us most is economic growth and the free marketplace." Before the primary election he predicted the nominee would "be perceived as not an extreme candidate in any direction."

Just how loyal the new Republicans will be, particularly the moderates, remains a question. The recent Senate primary demonstrates that the group is impressionable and highly susceptible to the influences of a good television campaign, for example. And there is ample evidence that the group is easily swayed by economic self-interest. For now, the GOP's message of economic independence and individual prosperity has struck a responsive chord with many young people, particularly in California.

And several Republican demographers add that a major factor critical to the GOP's success in recent years is the messianic presence of Ronald Reagan. Of the California converts to the Republican Party over the past three years, says Teichner, "better than three out of every 10 . . . say it was because of Ronald Reagan rather than any specific issue." Dresner believes Reagan "is like the great salesman of this movement, a personal symbol of the attitude that it is okay to be more self-centered and less guilty. He's extremely popular and crucial to the shifts that are going on."

Reagan's departure in another two years, then, will test whether the rest of the Republican Party can sustain the tide and hold the interest of what Teichner says are "large numbers of people never committed to (political) principles or platform before."

Pollster Charles Rund, who has researched public sentiment for Reagan and Deukmejian, believes the new Republicans will remain faithful to their adopted party well into the future. "It's a political socialization process," he says. "The party they begin to socialize with as they come into the political process, that party tends to hold that vote for a long time." Rund says the newcomers "bring a strong dose of pragmatism which mollifies ideology. It will probably soften up the strong intensity on single-focus social issues, broaden the viewpoints, allowing more people to be part of the party. And it will ease that stainless-steel hardness the Republicans have played with on economic issues."

How do the long-time conservatives view the changes being forced on them? Burgener for one believes the party will have to "make a few adjustments" to accommodate the newcomers, but it will be "with a smile on our face."

Richardson, an Old Right conservative who has become a father figure to the New Right, acknowledges some loss of conservative purity for the party as a result of its expansion into the maintsream. "Even though there has been some moderation around social issues, there has been an equal conservative swing toward things I'm comfortable with, such as law enforcement," Richardson says.

"You learn to live with the fact that although Americans love conservative rhetoric, they're not terribly enamored with conservative action on social issues," he says. "They love the idea that we should learn to take care of ourselves and our own until you ask them to take care of their mothers.

"It makes me a little melancholy but, no, it doesn't frustrate me. I don't get frustrated at human nature."

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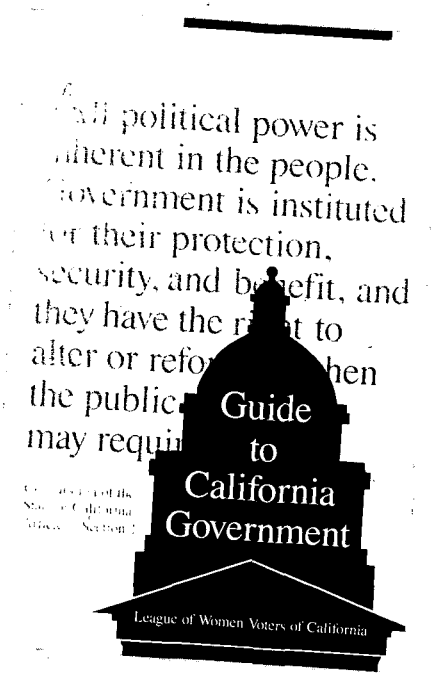

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DUKE and DI?

The real story behind the fainting . . .

Willie and Jerry: A mother's story

By LAURA MECOY

Governor George Deukmejian and his wife, Gloria, sheepishly put on a pair of Mickey Mouse ears — "California crash helmets," their guide called them — to protect them from harm as their spaceship zoomed under the Golden Gate Bridge, over Magic Mountain and into the Napa Valley. They zipped over Hearst Castle, swept past Bridal Veil Falls in the High Sierra and raced along the Big Sur coastline — all compliments of the latest in movie-making magic on display at the California Pavilion at Expo '86 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

During a recent tour of the state's $5.5 million display at this year's world's fair, California's Republican chief executive and his wife witnessed firsthand how the special effects used in Hollywood today can make a model spaceship — with them aboard — appear to fly across a movie montage of California landscapes. They saw how modern science can make a blue lightning bolt inside a glass globe switch from an erratic flicker to a clear shot of light at the touch of their hands. They listened to a new Republican convert, actor Charlton Heston, recite a poem written for the Pavilion by Ray Bradbury. They watched images of the state's space industry flicker across a wall of 25 television screens in sync with the poetry.

They posed for pictures in front of glass cases containing the Apollo 14 space capsule, a piece of the moon and the space suit worn by astronaut Thomas K. Mattingly II on the Apollo 16 mission — the only authentic spaceship and space artifact of the fairgrounds. They punched buttons on the "weather station," a collection of monitors and maps hooked to a weather satellite that provides up-to-date maps of storm systems and weather patterns over several locations in California and the United States. And they watched as others demonstrated the bicycle factory — a push-button, computerized management course in bicycle building with its own colorful graphics and user-friendly dialogue.

A fainting spell

Even though these high-tech displays and high-profile artifacts left the governor impressed with the Pavilion, neither was enough to bring the international attention California officials sought when they decided to spend $1.5 million in state money and $4 million in corporate contributions on the state's exhibits. That took the May 6th visit to the Pavilion by Britain's Prince Charles and Princess Diana. Actually, it was what happened during that visit that put California's name into news accounts around the world.

The royal couple's stop-off at the California Pavilion came in the midst of a hectic day of appearances for the prince and princess. Followed by huge crowds, Charles and Diana had toured a children's park, shared lunch with Expo officials and walked through four other pavilions before entering the gray and maroon building housing California's display in the U.S. sector of the World's Fair.

Only minutes after the couple entered the Pavilion, as the governor showed them the bicycle factory, the Princess of Wales tapped her husband on the shoulder three times and then fainted into his arms. "Very gracefully," the governor said later.

Buckingham Palace said the princess succumbed to the heat — she was wearing a white woolen dress in 85 degree weather — and the exhaustion of a grueling schedule — they had been spending equally hectic days in Vancouver since the opening of the world's fair May 2nd. The speculation, of course, was that the princess was pregnant with her third child. But the Palace quickly rebutted any rumor that "her royal highness" was expecting again.

Whatever the cause of the princess' fainting spell, the timing couldn't have been better for the California Pavilion. Virtually every story about the incident mentioned the California exhibit in the opening paragraphs. Even a month later, Pavilion Commissioner John T. Hay reports visitors asking exactly where the princess fainted and other questions about the incident.

"It hasn't done anything negative. In fact, it was positive. Everybody wants to see it," he said.

Of course, a princess fainting at his feet wasn't exactly what the governor had in mind when he signed legislation, authored by Democratic Assemblywoman Lucy Killea of San Diego, to put $1.5 million in state funds into what some viewed as a risky venture. At first, Hay said, virtually no one in California was interested in participating in Expo '86 because of the debt-ridden records of the last two world's fairs. The 1984 fair in New Orleans ended up in a bankruptcy sale, and the 1982 fair in Knoxville left so many unpaid loans that several Tennessee banks closed their doors and cited fair debts as contributing to their financial demise.

But Deukmejian has been trying to re-emphasize promotion of the state's resources and resume a sales job that former Governor Jerry Brown dropped because he believed California's reputation would sell itself. In recent years, however, other states have launched extensive and expensive campaigns to attract new employers, causing the business-conscious Deukmejian and a number of Democratic lawmakers to

Laura Mecoy is a Capitol Correspondent for the Sacramento Bee.

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seek increases in the state's spending on self-promotion (see "It sure isn't Kansas," *CJ*, December 1985).

The governor boasts of an $8 million trade initiative that includes the state's $1.5 million contribution to the California Pavilion, $5 million for an agricultural-trade promotion program, $700,000 to open trade offices in Tokyo and London and $1.1 million for the World Trade Commission.

Of all those programs, though, the Pavilion at Expo '86 is the most tangible proof of Deukmejian's trade-promotion program, and his quick trip there for the royal couple's visit helped highlight his interest in international trade — something that his Democratic rival has questioned.

Campaign fodder

Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley has made several trips abroad to promote trade with his city and has repeatedly assailed Deukmejian for his stay-at-home approach to trade promotion. "He doesn't even have a passport," is a frequently heard charge from both Bradley and his campaign staff. Deukmejian has responded with what is becoming a standard line for his stump speeches: "Bradley has seen more foreign airports than a lost suitcase." And his staff speculates in off-the-record conversation that Bradley actually is trying to turn around criticism of his numerous trips abroad by attacking Deukmejian on the subject.

Despite the minor sparring over who's most interested in expanding the state's markets, both Deukmejian and Bradley strategists acknowledge that it's not an issue that will matter to most California voters. It is an issue, though, that can appeal to businessmen and those in the agriculture industry — both sources of sizable campaign contributions.

With the federal government controlling most agricultural programs, there isn't much the state can offer California's debt-ridden farmers and ranchers. But state officials can try to help farmers and ranchers market their oversupply of fruits and vegetables to overseas consumers. And it can help the state's smaller businesses market their products abroad.

Indeed, business donated about $3.5 million in cash to the Pavilion and another $500,000 in "in-kind" contributions of computers, televisions and other parts of the displays inside the 12,000-square-foot building. That is more than double the $1.5 million in private donations required by the Killea legislation.

Hay said he worked hard to raise the extra money from the private sector because he believed it would take that much to build the kind of pavilion the state deserved. He said he had a hard time gathering contributions until he found a strong ally for his fund raising in U.S. Commissioner Fred Hartley. Hartley, a Canadian native who lives in California, is the chief executive officer for Unocal. His company wrote first to give a substantial contribution, and he helped raise another $1 million for the Pavilion.

Hay is still raising money, but now he's focusing on contributions for what he hopes will be another publicity bonanza for the state. Expo '86 officials scheduled California Day on August 6th, but California Pavilion officials decided to turn it into a week-long celebration. From August 3rd to 9th, they are planning to host wine competitions, performances by the state's entertainers and artists, a formal dinner and appearances by several of the state's movie stars.

The governor is planning a return trip for the state's August celebration, and this time his staff says he will take his family and stay three days so he will have time to see more than just the California Pavilion.

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The 1986 Primary Results
A district-by-district analysis

GOVERNOR

As expected, Governor George Deukmejian and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley formally gained their party nominations for governor, thus setting up a reprise of the 1982 gubernatorial campaign.

But while Bradley's eye was firmly fastened on his coming duel with Deukmejian, he suffered something of an ambush — nearly half a million Democrats voted against him. Considering only 40 percent of the registered voters went to the polls on primary day, and those who did probably were the most active and aware members of the party, it can't be very good news for Bradley's embattled campaign that one in five Democrats cast a vote for someone else. (This result followed a May *California Poll* which showed 40 percent of registered Democrats supported Deukmejian.)

Bradley's primary effort was aimed entirely at the incumbent governor, of course, and included a statewide television blitz that accused Deukmejian of a too-cozy relationship with campaign contributors involved in some way with toxic waste. By raising the bugaboo of toxic waste, Bradley established what will be a major theme of his effort to capture the governorship. Deukmejian countered with ads that characterized Bradley as a pathetic complainer. Thus the tone was set for what promises to be a bare-fisted and nasty brawl between two opponents who don't like each other, personally or politically.

Bradley's battle is uphill all the way. A *California Poll* taken in early May, before Bradley's television blitz, showed him 22 percentage points behind Deukmejian (58-36). A subsequent poll taken during what was a very negative ad campaign indicated the governor's support had eroded four points.

Bradley's commercials accomplished one goal — they made voters at least take a closer look at the governor, and some didn't like what they saw. Unfortunately, they didn't necessarily like Bradley, either, as the Democrat failed to improve his rating. (The four points slid past him and into the "undecided" column). Thus despite nearly bankrupting his campaign coffers to finance the ads, Bradley failed to win any more voters over to his side.

To refill those coffers, he must convince contributors that backing him isn't tossing money down a garbage disposal. As the election speeds toward the main event, Bradley is still 16 to 18 points down in various polls, his campaign is nearly broke, polls show most people happy in their lives and confident in the economy and his opponent has a warchest of more than $7 million. Other than that, what could be wrong? (For an in-depth look at Bradley's campaign, see "A campaign in trouble?" *CJ*, June 1986).

If everything seems rosy for Deukmejian, there are a few clouds on his horizon. First, Bradley's stridently negative ads struck a chord, as evidenced by the governor's erosion of support in the polls.

Second, despite his reputation as a sound administrator, he continues to have problems. His effort to clean up toxic waste has been an unmitigated administrative nightmare highlighted by repeated changes in personnel and seeming indifference of bureaucrats to the plight of individuals affected by toxic troubles.

In addition, there have been charges that his director of Health Services, Dr. Kenneth Kizer, has been a bit too zealous in protecting the interests of campaign contributors friendly to the administration. There have been other charges that Deukmejian's former secretary of Health and Welfare, lobbyist David Swoap, has used connections within his old haunt to secure favorable decisions on behalf of pharmaceutical clients, kind of a mini-Deavergate. There is a nagging brouhaha over use of California National Guard troops in Central America. Finally, the governor and members of his administrative team have been unable to fill the void left when Swoap resigned as Health and Welfare secretary way back on November 1, 1985, thus leaving the state's largest bureaucracy (and the one currently charged with cleaning up toxic waste) headless for nearly eight months.

Whether Tom Bradley can spin gold from Deukmejian's administrative straw remains to be seen. What he must do is convince a basically content electorate that Deukmejian's flaws are enough to toss him out of office.

DEMOCRAT		
Anderson	100,954	(5%)
Bagley	137,816	(6%)
Bradley	**1,686,705**	**(79%)**
Pineda	161,262	(8%)
Thomas	50,510	(2%)
REPUBLICAN		
Clark	126,590	(7%)
Deukmejian (Inc.)	**1,824,389**	**(94%)**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Miller	**83,165**	**(100%)**
LIBERTARIAN		
Fuhrig	**12,106**	**(100%)**
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Munoz	**3,947**	**(61%)**
Zuur	2,543	(39%)

U.S. SENATE

Alan Cranston will get his wish.

Cranston has chafed under the notion that he's been in office for three terms only because he's been lucky enough to face right-wing opponents with no chance of winning a general election in California. Well, now he has the chance to beat Ed Zschau, an attractive, intelligent, moderate Republican, and in the process perhaps determine if the wave of the state's political future starts in Silicon Valley.

Republicans have been focusing on the Cranston race for months now. He is considered vulnerable because of his ill-fated run for president in 1984 and because his liberal views may be out-of-step with a perceived conservative trend among state voters. It should also be noted that 20 percent of the Democrats who voted in the primary voted for somebody other than Cranston. In addition, the Republicans need to capture the California seat if they want to retain control of U. S. Senate, which means President Reagan will probably be visiting spots in the state other than his ranch in Santa Barbara.

But Cranston is not an easy target. He is an excellent

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campaigner and has worked hard to mend any rift with voters caused by his presidential campaign. Also, he can call upon his long-standing goodwill in the business community for financial support — and possibly to restrain contributions to Zschau.

DEMOCRAT		
Abbott	121,743	(6%)
Banuelos	75,816	(4%)
Cranston	**1,769,987**	**(81%)**
Greene	162,143	(7%)
Lantz	63,830	(2%)
REPUBLICAN		
Allen	23,475	(1%)
Antonovich	175,838	(9%)
Cleaver	22,436	(1%)
Davis	127,230	(7%)
Fiedler	139,540	(7%)
Herschensohn	575,521	(30%)
Knowland	35,160	(2%)
Laffer	46,029	(2%)
Montgomery	15,974	(*)
Naylor	59,249	(3%)
Pemberton	6,573	(*)
Spring	4,486	(*)
Zschau	**718,317**	**(37%)**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Vallen	**13,360**	**(100%)**
LIBERTARIAN		
McKinley	**9,147**	**(100%)**
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Brenner	2,189	(48%)
Kangas	**2,382**	**(52%)**

Zschau's victory in the Republican primary is nothing short of remarkable. When his campaign began last summer, he was little more than an asterisk in the public-opinion polls. He was a congressman from Northern California rather than the vote-rich south, and he lacked entree to the state's traditional, conservative power brokers whose candidates have sometimes dominated statewide elections. To make matters worse, he had a name no one could pronounce.

But Zschau showed an ability to raise money under federal election rules, where the $1000 limit blunts the impact of a few very wealthy givers and major corporations. With that money he produced a series of slick commercials that dominated the state's airwaves during the closing days of the campaign. These were thought to appeal to many of the new Republican voters who do not have strong ideological leanings of traditional party members. And he came up with some cute slogans to help with pronunciation problems ("Zschau as in now").

The power of television was evident everywhere in the campaign. It is the main reason for the success of Bruce Herschensohn, Zschau's chief rival toward the end of the campaign. Although he was unable to raise a substantial amount of money, Herschensohn was well-known in the Los Angeles media market because of his years as a television commentator there. But his attractiveness fell off sharply once past the range of that city's television transmitters. Although he received nearly 49 percent of the vote in Los Angeles County, Herschensohn got only 19 percent in San Diego County and less than 10 percent in Northern California counties.

Zschau, in contrast, polled fairly well throughout the state. He got a respectable 20 percent in Los Angeles County, the second highest percentage for that county, 40 percent in San Diego County and as much two-thirds of the vote in some Northern California counties.

Several candidates who expected to do well faded late in the campaign. Los Angeles County Supervisor Mike Antonovich, for example, managed 9 percent of the vote (only 13 percent in his home county) enabling him to finish a distant third. Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler and state Senator Ed Davis each managed about 7 percent of the vote after each destroyed the other's campaign over charges Fiedler had offered to help retire Davis' campaign debts if he would only give up the race.

Zschau and Cranston both came out swinging the day after the election. California voters can expect an expensive and entertaining campaign.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Regardless of the outcome of the primary for lieutenant governor, the Republican ticket was going to be a political odd couple. It would pair Governor Deukmejian with one of two candidates who fought to deny him the gubernatorial nomination just four years ago — former Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb who ran against Deukmejian in 1982; or state Senator H.L. Richardson, the right-wing guru who supported Curb over Deukmejian.

The 41-year-old Curb opened the campaign with a huge lead in polls (62-38 percent in April 1986) then went into hiding, preferring to campaign via television ads and mailers. The pugnacious Richardson, strapped for funds, campaigned aggressively and managed to close the gap to 43-37, with 21 percent undecided.

That was as close as Richardson got, as late polls showed Curb not only leading Richardson but the Democratic incumbent, Leo McCarthy, as well. The poll vis-a-vis McCarthy may have been misleading, however, for the incumbent was unopposed and barely campaigned at all, conserving his energy and resources for November.

DEMOCRAT		
McCarthy (Inc.)	**1,988,129**	**(100%)**
REPUBLICAN		
Curb	**1,124,165**	**(57%)**
Richardson	834,798	(43%)
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT		
Griffin	**12,141**	**(100%)**
LIBERTARIAN		
Almodovar	**8,703**	**(100%)**
PEACE AND FREEDOM		
Kuhn	**4,238**	**(100%)**

Curb is expected to snuggle as close as possible to Deukmejian, campaigning on the theme that the governor needs his own team in Sacramento. The question is whether the governor will let him get that close. Despite the "unity photo" taken on primary night in Los Angeles, Deukmejian is known for his long memory, and the 1982 Curb-Duke campaign was particularly bitter. Deukmejian's level of support for Curb could be one indication of just how serious the governor is about running for national office in 1988. Deukmejian's name has been circulated as a potential vice-presidential candidate, but insiders say he won't accept if it means turning the state over to a Democrat. If Deukmejian harbors national ambitions, he'll go all out for Curb — personal feelings aside.

McCarthy will hammer at Curb personally and at Curb's controversial record as Jerry Brown's lieutenant governor from 1978 to 1982. McCarthy fired the first salvo only a day after the election, calling for Curb to explain why he received a 1-Y draft classification during the Vietnam War. That classification, McCarthy reminded voters, is given to those "med-

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ically, mentally or morally" unfit to serve. Curb has said the classification was probably due to his allergies. Ironically, Curb's war record, or lack thereof, was campaign fodder once before for another Curb opponent — George Deukmejian in 1982.

And, of course, McCarthy could remind voters of what Curb himself had to say about the job of lieutenant governor. A little over one year ago, before he decided he wanted his old job back, Curb told the *Sacramento Bee*: "As I reflect back on it I have serious doubts about whether I should have drawn a salary. It's a lot of wasted time."

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Bruce Gleason surprised political observers when he topped the field of relative unknowns vying to be the Republican nominee for state attorney general. Gleason spent only $9100 — less than one-half his rivals' expenditures — in a campaign which never even reached the northern half of the state.

In addition to far outspending Gleason, Ukiah lawyer Duncan James and Los Angeles attorney Lawrence Straw received endorsements from well-known Republicans — Howard Jarvis supported James and Paul Gann and state Senator H.L. Richardson endorsed Straw. Gleason had no such party backing.

So how did Gleason emerge the winner? Gleason attributes his victory to "vigorous campaigning" and the votes of "tens of thousands" of clients served during 31 years as an attorney in the Los Angeles area. The common consensus, however, is that Gleason's appearance on a controversial mailer sent out to two million Republican voters bagged the victory for the 62-year-old Panorama City attorney. The mailer, reportedly financed by Proposition 51 opponents, was made to look like an official Republican Party slate mailer and was distributed during the final days of the campaign.

Gleason paid $2500 to get his name on the mailer but says he was never told a recommendation on the deep-pockets initiative would be included. Although like Governor George Deukmejian Gleason supported Proposition 51 and was dismayed to find that the official-looking mailer also urged a "no" vote on Prop 51, he nonetheless admits it probably had something to do with his June 3rd victory. Probably, nothing, say Straw and James. They claim the mailer is the "sole reason" for Gleason's success.

Gleason says his fall campaign will hit incumbent Attorney General John Van de Kamp hard on his anti-Proposition 51 stance. He plans to spend more for the general election than he did for the primary — he estimates $400,000 to $500,000 — and expects the Republican Party to come to his side as a member of the statewide GOP ticket. "After all, I am the party nominee," he said.

However, it will take more than money and party backing for Gleason to knock incumbent attorney general John Van de Kamp from his post.

DEMOCRAT	
Van de Kamp (Inc.)	**1,977,238 (100%)**
REPUBLICAN	
Gleason	**593,822 (42%)**
James	469,485 (33%)
Straw	355,940 (25%)
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT	
Odom	**14,364 (100%)**
LIBERTARIAN	
Newman	**19,372 (100%)**
PEACE AND FREEDOM	
Evans	**6,955 (100%)**

SECRETARY OF STATE

Incumbent Secretary of State March Fong Eu and her Republican opponent, Orange County Supervisor Bruce Nestande, each came out of the Assembly with high political ambitions, and each more or less settled for the secretary of state's position.

Eu was first elected secretary of state in 1974, succeeding Jerry Brown who moved into the governor's office. At the time Eu probably thought of parlaying her position as the state's only female, only Asian statewide elected official into a run for governor or for the U.S. Senate.

But opportunity never knocked, so she has remained as secretary of state. Every four years since she has soundly drubbed a GOP opponent; in 1982 it was Gordon Duffy, a highly respected member of the Assembly who managed but 35 percent of the vote. This time it will be Nestande.

Nestande, too, seemed to settle for secretary of state this year. At first he announced for lieutenant governor, and he appeared to be the one candidate that fit comfortably with Governor Deukmejian. But when two better-known Republicans entered the fray — former Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb and state Senator H.L. Richardson — Nestande saw his ability to raise money dwindle. In addition, he would have had to share his natural Southern California constituency with both opponents. Instead he opted for a all-but-certain suicide run against Eu, the candidate who regularly attracts the greatest number of votes in a contested, partisan statewide election.

Nestande's only hope lies in the remote chance that voters will be in the mood to give George Deukmejian his own team of constitutional officers.

DEMOCRAT	
Eu (Inc.)	**1,979,857 (100%)**
REPUBLICAN	
Cyrus	327,052 (20%)
Nestande	**815,559 (50%)**
Winkler	488,767 (30%)
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT	
Dietrich	**11,958 (100%)**
LIBERTARIAN	
Winger	**8,754 (100%)**
PEACE AND FREEDOM	
Garcia	**5,050 (100%)**

CONTROLLER

Two of the Legislature's most proficient money raisers — Democratic Assemblyman Gray Davis and Republican Senator William Campbell — will face off in the November contest for state controller, promising a high-rolling battle. Each won his party nomination after raising more than twice as much campaign cash as his rivals and spending it on slick television commercials.

The race for controller, the state's chief bill payer, was thrown wide open when incumbent Ken Cory, a Democrat, decided at the 11th hour not to seek a fourth four-year term. It was widely speculated at the time that Cory postponed his announcement to give Davis a leg up on any competitors because both are closely associated with the Southern California machine run by Los Angeles Congressmen Howard Berman and Henry Waxman. But the ploy didn't work as a host of candidates on both sides rushed to beat the filing

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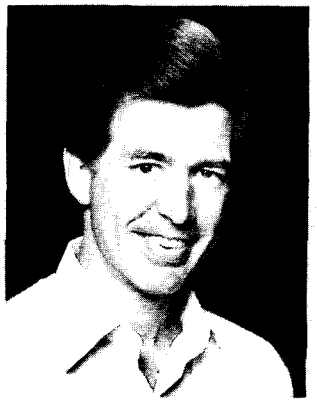
Campbell



Davis

deadline. The race became so popular because it marked the only open statewide seat in this election season.

In the Democratic primary, Davis captured 50 percent of the vote to state Senator John Garamendi's 38 percent. Assemblyman Alister McAlister, who had almost no money and even less name recognition south of his Bay Area district, netted only 12.3 percent. McAlister's campaign, at least, coined the most memorable slogan of the as-yet-young political year: "Alister McAlister — Honest McHonest."

On the Republican side, Campbell, who gathered 48 percent of the vote, won easily over Assemblyman Don Sebastiani (27.2 percent) and former Fair Political Practices Commission Chairman Dan Stanford (17.3 percent). Former state Senator Marz Garcia withdrew from the race in favor of his long-time friend Campbell, but it was too late to have his name removed from the ballot. He still polled 7 percent

DEMOCRAT	
Davis	**1,070,117 (50%)**
Garamendi	807,447 (38%)
McAlister	263,155 (12%)
REPUBLICAN	
Campbell	**865,527 (48%)**
Garcia	134,687 (8%)
Sebastiani	491,090 (27%)
Stanford	311,750 (17%)
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT	
Kudrovzeff	**16,474 (100%)**
LIBERTARIAN	
Treynor	**8,790 (100%)**
PEACE AND FREEDOM	
Haag	**4,418 (100%)**

of the vote. The victors, both from the Los Angeles area, benefited from a strong north-south split in the vote; Davis and Campbell won large majorities in voter-heavy Southern California while their opponents polled greater percentages in the less-populous north.

Subjects peripheral to the duties of controller dominated the campaigns as Davis' opponents focused their attacks on his record during his seven years as former Governor Jerry Brown's chief of staff. Meanwhile, Davis built his campaign on his efforts to help locate missing children. Davis appeared in television commercials surrounded by children who had been returned to their parents; one advertisement showed a small girl thanking "Mr. Davis" for bring her home.

In the Republican primary, Sebastiani criticized Campbell on another subject not directly connected with the controller's job: Campbell's support for the Peripheral Canal — the ill-fated 1982 initiative plan to transfer northern water to the south. Campbell's rivals also sought to make a campaign issue of the Hacienda Heights senator's connections to convicted political corrupter W. Patrick Moriarty, a constitutent and one-time friend.

Because both nominees are ambitious, the controller's office is likely to remain as politicized as it was under Ken Cory. If Campbell comes out on top, he may well be the only Republican (aside from Deukmejian) constitutional officer, putting him in a good spot for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1990. He has expressed interest in the top job in the past. If Davis wins he may attempt to follow the lead of his former boss, Jerry Brown, who turned the previously modest responsibilities of secretary of state into a stepping stone to the governor's office.

TREASURER

It is sometimes difficult to realize, but Jesse Unruh has been a powerful political figure in California state politics for a long time — nearly 30 years. Known early in his career as "Big Daddy" for his ample girth, Unruh was one of a handful of national power brokers responsible for John F. Kennedy's nomination for president in 1960. He was the man who cre-

DEMOCRAT	
Unruh (Inc.)	**2,009,193 (100%)**
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT	
Short	**35,414 (100%)**
LIBERTARIAN	
Cullen	**8,841 (100%)**
PEACE AND FREEDOM	
Smith	3,338 (18%)
Wisner	**14,869 (82%)**

ated the modern Assembly speakership during the early '60s, consolidating unprecedented power in his own hands.

After a losing campaign for governor in 1970 against Ronald Reagan, he returned to the limelight by winning his current job in 1974 — virtually stealing the Democratic nomination at the last moment from an ambitious but unknown young opponent named Gray Davis. He has not treated the job of treasurer as a kind of political retirement, however, but has again consolidated power around his very own desk — this time as founding father and motivating force behind a powerful coaltion of private and public pension funds known as the Council of Institutional Investors (see "Guardian angel on Wall Street," *CJ*, August 1985).

Thus it could be said that Jesse Unruh has evolved into a political institution, one that the GOP obviously respects, for no Republican came forward to do battle with the still-vigorous 64-year-old treasurer. Unruh can thus relax and assume the role one suspects he enjoys most — oracle of political wisdom for fellow Democrats.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

(Non-partisan)

Incumbent Bill Honig's smashing victory in his reelection bid for superintendent of public instruction ensures he will not have to face voters again — for this job — until 1990. By gaining more than 50 percent of the vote in the June primary, Honig wins reelection outright to the non-partisan position. He calls the victory "a mandate for continued reform" in education. Others view it as evidence of Honig's ability to attract votes.

The superintendent of public instruction doesn't have much real power over California public schools. The governor and Legislature decide how much money will be spent for

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education; the state's 1100 school districts run the day-to-day educating of children. Thus the person who heads the Department of Education is, in effect, the schools' top lobbyist, its cheerleader and a reflection of its image before the public.

In these respects, the voters gave Bill Honig an A-plus. An energetic personna, Honig has become a tireless symbol for the improving state of California education — as he

Baird	484,549 (12%)
Honig (Inc.)	**3,247,094 (78%)**
Nusbaum	431,267 (10%)

promised to do four years ago when he defeated two-term incumbent Wilson Riles. He's written a book, appeared on national talk shows and toured the state and nation relentlessly as a crusader for the "back to basics" approach to education.

But some observers consider him an opportunist. Independently wealthy and ambitious, Honig is regarded as a future candidate for higher office; governor, perhaps, or U.S. Senate, and probably as a Democrat (his party of registration prior to running for office). Much of his public play on behalf of education is seen as self-aggrandizement — often to the exclusion of those who play important roles in education in other spheres.

For instance, Honig generally credits himself with bringing education reform to California. Although he was instrumental in winning the support of business and labor interests for reform, the nuts-and-bolts work of crafting an education-reform package acceptable to the Legislature and to the governor (SB813, 1984) was the work of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Democratic state Senator Gary Hart, Assemblywoman Teresa Hughes and members of the Legislature's two education committees. Honig's naive approach to political negotiation at the time nearly torpedoed the project.

Still, his contribution to the effort shouldn't be minimized, for without the business community applying pressure to legislative Republicans, and to the governor, the entire reform package would have gone down.

Whether Honig's contributions to education make him a contender for other public offices is debatable. But his ability to attract votes, coupled with his energy and his unabashed willingness to seek and capitalize on publicity, certainly make him a political force to reckon with.

BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

The State Board of Equalization has traditionally been a political backwater where incumbents ran virtually unchallenged year-after-year until they either retired or died. Open seats were rare, although one popped up in 1986 — District 4 centered around Los Angeles. The current occupant is Richard Nevins who is leaving the board after a 28-year tenure.

Nevins' retirement attracted a host of politicians; some looking for active retirement, some looking for a stepping-stone to higher office, some seeking a comeback after years on the political sidelines. State Senator Paul Carpenter won the Democratic primary over former state Senator Nate Holden and Los Angeles County Assessor Alexander Pope. Carpenter admits he wants a slower pace of life — kind of a working retirement — and he should get it this fall when he defeats his Republican challenger, Inglewood City Treasurer R. Stanley Jones.

District 2 incumbent Conway Collis, 37, ran for the board in 1982 as a second choice; he first sought a seat in the Assembly from the 43rd District in Beverly Hills. But the powers that be among Southern California Democrats — the Berman-Waxman machine from West Los Angeles — decreed the 43rd should belong to Gray Davis. Collis' sop was an appointment to the board to replace George Reilly who conveniently retired early so then-Governor Jerry Brown could name a successor.

Collis, a proven fund raiser who made his reputation filling Alan Cranston's campaign coffers, breezed through the 1986 primary, much as he will breeze through the general election against Republican Claude Parrish, a business executive and controller from Studio City. His 2nd District extends from the San Joaquin Valley south to Los Angeles and includes San Francisco.

Ernie Dronenburg won by ousting an incumbent — Democrat Iris Stankey — in 1978, and he's made no secret of his desire to move up. He nearly moved out in the primary, however, surviving a particularly close (for the board) contest

DISTRICT 1 (55% D - 34% R)	
Alexander (D)	40,990 (7%)
Bennett (D-I)	**340,277 (57%)**
Clark (D)	62,982 (11%)
Ernst (D)	27,379 (5%)
McCarroll (D)	88,442 (15%)
Valdry (D)	32,448 (6%)
Jones (R)	111,954 (28%)
Nails (R)	116,234 (29%)
Prat (R)	**169,903 (43%)**
Novak (P&F)	**8,841 (100%)**
DISTRICT 2 (52% D - 37% R)	
Collis (D-I)	**344,083 (74%)**
DeLotto (D)	119,265 (26%)
Parrish (R)	**192,320 (53%)**
Shimmon (R)	172,986 (47%)
Lovato (P&F)	**1,362 (100%)**
DISTRICT 3 (41% D - 47% R)	
Berry (D)	105,580 (29%)
Buckley (D)	**263,461 (71%)**
Dronenburg (R-I)	**255,548 (51%)**
Kelly (R)	179,387 (36%)
Wilson (R)	70,529 (14%)
McMillan (L)	877 (42%)
Sanders (L)	**1,214 (58%)**
Quirk (P&F)	**645 (100%)**
DISTRICT 4 (58% D - 33% R)	
Carpenter (D)	**150,681 (33%)**
Greenspan (D)	11,488 (3%)
Holden (D)	108,862 (24%)
Howard (D)	29,373 (6%)
O'Green (D)	9,759 (2%)
Pope (D)	134,664 (30%)
Welsh (D)	11,831 (3%)
Jones (R)	**198,051 (78%)**
Rudolph (R)	56,257 (22%)
Malmberg (L)	**1,276 (100%)**
McCammon (P&F)	**734 (100%)**

with San Bernardinan Ed Kelly, a senior auditor for the board, and Jerry Wilson, a sporting goods retailer from Patton. Dronenburg should have little trouble in the general election against Democrat Mark Buckley, an Orange County deputy assessor who hails from Huntington Beach. There are more registered Republicans than Democrats in District 3, which runs as far north as Mono County and takes in a lot of empty territory along the state's eastern border before picking up Orange and San Diego counties.

District 1 incumbent Bill Bennett, a 68-year-old San Franciscan who boasts that he has never accepted a campaign contribution, won his primary with 57 percent of the vote

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and should have no problem with Kentfield Republican Gene Prat, who bills himself as a tax-reduction advocate. Bennett was first elected to the board in 1970. His district takes in 33 counties and covers the northern third of the state.

BALLOT MEASURES

The state's voters were in an approving mood on election day; they passed each of the ballot propositions put to them.

Of course, there was real controversy over only one of the measures, Proposition 51, the "deep pockets" initiative. That contest, the showdown that featured the state's trial lawyers against the insurance and medical industries, was won by the latter when 62 percent of the voters approved the measure.

The actual effects on damage cases is uncertain at this point. The measure will change the way the payment of "pain and suffering" awards are allocated in court cases. Under current law, all defendants found responsible for an accident are responsible for all the damages, both "actual," such as medical bills and lost wages, and "non-economic" losses, usually known as "pain and suffering." The initiative changes the law so that a defendant will pay only his or her share of non-economic losses. Thus if a non-economic award totals $100,000, and one defendant is only 10 percent responsible, that defendant will pay a maximum of $10,000, even if the other defendants can't pay anything. Under current law, that defendant would have to pay 100 percent if other defendants could not pay.

Backers of the measure argued that this was unfair, and they trotted out a series of horror stories — some only vaguely relevant to the proposition itself — about cities that had to pay large awards or close public facilities, even though they were only slightly to blame.

Opponents countered that it was the insurance companies who were responsible for the shortage of liability insurance and that the real beneficiaries of the measure would be the state's large businesses — most notably toxic polluters — who would be let off the hook for the damage they do. One cartoonish anti-51 commercial portrayed a pair of illegal waste dumpers chuckling because even if they were caught, under the initiative punishment would be slight. But the fear campaign, engineered by the Berman-DeAgostino firm that ran the campaign against the 1984 campaign finance reform measure, may have been too broadly drawn. Voters were apparently unconvinced that the proposal would really let polluters off the hook.

Both sides immediately began putting their own interpretation on the election results. The insurance industry began making plans for further assaults on the state's liability laws. But the trial lawyers and their allies among consumer groups contended the vote really represented concern about the high cost of insurance, and they promised to counter with new rules to regulate that field while Governor Deukmejian and Mayor Bradley issued, or reissued, their proposed reforms of the insurance industry.

None of the other ballot issues generated much controversy. No significant campaign developed over Proposition 49, a measure which prevents political parties from making endorsements in non-partisan races. That was a right they had won in the courts, upsetting the state's tradition establishing a rigid division between non-partisan local government and partisan state government. But the voters, by the narrowest margin of any ballot measure (56-44 percent) made it clear it was a right they did not want political parties to have, despite arguments that it violated the right of free speech.

Voters also gave approval to nearly $1.6 billion in bonds for veterans loans, water conservation projects, local parks and county jails. Other proposals will: allow the deposit of government funds in credit unions; prohibit retired judges and elected officials from getting a bigger pension than the current holder of the office; place in the Constitution the current division of motor vehicle license fees between the state and local governments; and, for the first time since the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, allow local taxpayers — with a two-thirds vote — to raise their own property tax rates to acquire real property.

Proposition 42 — Veterans Bond Act	
Yes	**3,280,811 (76%)**
No	1,058,743 (24%)
Proposition 43 — Local park bonds	
Yes	**2,877,632 (67%)**
No	1,393,145 (33%)
Proposition 44 — Water conservation	
Yes	**3,152,310 (74%)**
No	1,100,004 (26%)
Proposition 45 — Credit union deposits	
Yes	**2,752,789 (66%)**
No	1,417,013 (34%)
Proposition 46 — Property tax raises	
Yes	**2,478,921 (60%)**
No	1,653,066 (40%)
Proposition 47 — Local government revenue	
Yes	**3,406,815 (81%)**
No	781,527 (19%)
Proposition 48 — Retirement restrictions	
Yes	**3,572,104 (85%)**
No	639,653 (15%)
Proposition 49 — Nonpartisan endorsements	
Yes	**2,265,707 (56%)**
No	1,765,882 (44%)
Proposition 50 — Property taxes after disasters	
Yes	**2,868,118 (71%)**
No	1,194,155 (29%)
Proposition 51 — Deep pockets liability	
Yes	**2,819,683 (62%)**
No	1,724,955 (38%)
Proposition 52 — County jail bonds	
Yes	**2,750,398 (67%)**
No	1,339,931 (33%)

CONGRESS

The late Congressman Phil Burton took most of the fun out of California congressional races when he devised a reapportionment plan that made it very difficult for either party to steal a House seat away from the other. As a result, even when a seat opens up, the ultimate winner is chosen in the party primary.

That's almost certainly the case in the 12th District, where Assemblyman Ernie Konnyu won the primary, and in the 21st District where Simi Valley Mayor Elton Gallegly won a surprisingly strong victory over Tony Hope. And it's probably also the case in the 2nd District, where Assemblyman Wally Herger won the Republican primary but will have a somewhat tougher campaign.

Beyond that, of the 45 congressional districts, really spirited fights are expected in only two, the 36th now held by Democrat George Brown, and the 38th held by Republican Bob Dornan. Republicans believe this can be a good year for them, with George Deukmejian heading the ticket, U. S. Senate candidate Ed Zschau appealing to new, young voters, and the lurking possibility Rose Bird will bring out an angry electorate anxious to defeat Democrats. Still, with all that, the opportunities for surprises are scarce. When all is said and done, the new congressional delegation will look an awful lot like the old one.

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DISTRICT 1 (56% D - 33% R)

Bosco (D-I)	**54,399**	**(74%)**
Davis (D)	8,400	(12%)
Koepf (D)	10,281	(14%)
Sampson (R)	**36,410**	**(100%)**
McFarland (P&F)	**344**	**(100%)**

Two-term incumbent Bosco wasn't overwhelming in beating two unknowns for the primary, but it's unlikely that Petaluma paving contractor Sampson will be able to do much about it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 2 (48% D - 41% R)

Meyer (D)	18,232	(47%)
Swendiman (D)	**32,383**	**(53%)**
Herger (R)	**46,760**	**(72%)**
Kirkpatrick (R)	15,288	(24%)
Wareham (R)	2,864	(4%)
Pendery (L)	**258**	**(100%)**

This is one of the few open seats in the state because of the retirement of Republican Gene Chappie. The registration would normally make this a safe Republican seat, but voters in the northeastern corner of the state are notoriously

Swendiman

Herger

independent, and Democrats think they have a good candidate in Shasta County Supervisor Swendiman who survived a close primary to win the nomination. Republicans will send forth Assemblyman Herger who had little trouble winning his primary race. Since Democrats haven't many other places to spend their money, they possibly will lavish plenty on this district before the dust settles in November. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 3 (57% D - 34% R)

Matsui (D-I)	**72,717**	**(100%)**
Landowski (R)	**21,927**	**(50%)**
Perdue (R)	9,836	(22%)
Skow (R)	12,380	(28%)

Parks analyst Landowski beat two lawyers for the dubious honor of running against Matsui, who had no opponent at all two years ago and probably won't have to run much harder to win this time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 4 (55% D - 33% R)

Fazio (D-I)	**61,282**	**(100%)**
Hite (R)	**20,749**	**(59%)**
Millar (R)	14,735	(42%)

Electrician Hite will be the Republican standard bearer against Fazio this time. The GOP sometimes feels it's fun to run against Fazio, if only because he's the one that's had to carry a couple of congressional pay-raise bills. But that didn't help a better-known Republican two years ago and is unlikely to help Hite this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (64% D - 20% R)

Burton (D-I)	**55,847**	**(89%)**
Klein (D)	2,847	(5%)
Moberg (D)	3,776	(6%)
Garza (R)	**16,163**	**(100%)**
Grove (L)	**219**	**(100%)**
Zuur (P&F)	**249**	**(100%)**

Burton had no difficulty beating two primary challengers, including LaRouche supporter Klein. She will have no more trouble with Republican Garza. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 6 (58% D - 28% R)

Boxer (D-I)	**58,816**	**(90%)**
Legare (D)	6,318	(10%)
Ernst (R)	**10,334**	**(51%)**
Sampson (R)	9,876	(49%)

Boxer easily beat LaRouche backer Legare and should have little trouble with Vallejo resident Ernst in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (56% D - 33% R)

Miller (D-I)	**56,388**	**(100%)**
Blake (R)	8,463	(21%)
Thakar (R)	**32,901**	**(80%)**

Despite efforts by Alamo resident Thaker, Miller's Contra Costa County constituents are about to send him back to Congress for a sixth term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (63% D - 25% R)

Dellums (D-I)	**67,172**	**(83%)**
Williams (D)	14,252	(18%)
Eigenberg (R)	**30,763**	**(100%)**
Manuel (P&F)	**353**	**(100%)**

The voters around Oakland are apparently happy with the liberal style of Dellums, who beat LaRouche backer Williams in the primary. When he beats Republican Eigenberg, Dellums will have his eighth term in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 9 (59% D - 29% R)

Stark (D-I)	**55,933**	**(89%)**
Lantz (D)	6,947	(11%)
Williams (R)	**27,715**	**(100%)**

Beating packaging executive Williams should be a cinch for Stark. After all, he had to beat J.T. Eager Beaver to win two years ago. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (60% D - 27% R)

Edwards (D-I)	**37,948**	**(100%)**
Fanning-Flores (R)	8,813	(47%)
La Crone (R)	**9,780**	**(53%)**
Cardestam (L)	**195**	**(100%)**
Mayer (P&F)	**65**	**(100%)**

Edwards has spent 24 years representing the folks in San Jose, and consultant La Crone won't change things. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (56% D - 32% R)

Lantos (D-I)	**57,230**	**(100%)**
Hickey (R)	12,491	(49%)
Quraishi (R)	**12,827**	**(51%)**

Fewer than 400 votes separated engineer Quraishi and research scientist Hickey as they competed for the right to be the next to lose to Lantos who collected more than 70 percent of the vote last time around. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (43% D - 43% R)

McCarthy (D)	14,426	(32%)
Weil (D)	**30,206**	**(68%)**
Hughes (R)	7,362	(12%)
Konnyu (R)	**32,568**	**(53%)**
Mercer (R)	5,666	(9%)
Skornia (R)	16,151	(26%)
White (L)	**485**	**(100%)**

Democrats were hoping that Assemblyman Konnyu would be a little too rough-hewn for the Silicon Valley seat being vacated by Ed Zschau. But he won convincingly over a four-person field that included high-spending businessman Skornia, Sunnyvale Councilman Mercer and long-time party activist Hughes. Furthermore, Democrats failed to attract a name candidate to draw voters and now have a registration lead of fewer than 3000 voters. Konnyu is the odds-on favorite to win in November over attorney Weil. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 13 (50% D - 36% R)

Mineta (D-I)	**42,104**	**(100%)**
Nash (R)	**29,340**	**(100%)**

The Democratic registration edge is slipping in this San Jose district, but there is little chance Republican Nash can unseat popular five-term incumbent Mineta. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (48% D - 42% R)

Shumway (R-I)	**60,644**	**(100%)**
Steele (D)	**49,766**	**(100%)**
Daniel (L)	**338**	**(100%)**

Shumway will have no trouble winning his fifth term over farmer and retired Marine Steele. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 15 (57% D - 34% R)

Coelho (D-I)	**38,607**	**(100%)**
Harner (R)	**25,006**	**(100%)**
Harris (L)	**87**	**(100%)**

Coelho thinks he will be the House Democratic whip, the number three leadership position, when he returns in the fall. There may be some in Congress who dispute this, but there is almost no chance rancher Harner will stop him. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 16 (52% D - 36% R)

Panetta (D-I)	**52,857**	**(94%)**
Dunn (D)	3,406	(6%)
Darrigo (R)	**36,310**	**(100%)**
Anderson (L)	**301**	**(100%)**
Wright (P&F)	**267**	**(100%)**

Republicans keep watching the Democratic registration drop in this district, and they covet the seat. But they are going to have to wait for incumbent Panetta to become interested in a different line of work. He keeps beating challengers by substantial margins. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (51% D - 40% R)

Pashayan (R-I)	**40,820**	**(100%)**
Hartnett (D)	**34,732**	**(100%)**

This could be a district where Democrats might make a play. Both parties have put on registration drives, and Republicans have been winning, adding nearly three times as many voters as have the Democrats. Still, Democrats think they have a good candidate in Hartnett, who has been an aid to Representative Rick Lehman. Although Democrats might make this interesting,

Key to symbols:

D = Democrat
R = Republican
AIP = American Independent Party
L = Libertarian
P&F = Peace and Freedom
Inc. = Incumbent
-I = Incumbent
(%) = vote percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number, accounting for the fact that some races generated more than 100 percent of the vote.

Source for all vote totals — secretary of state and various county registrars.

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it's going to be an uphill fight for them. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 18 (59% D - 33% R)

Lehman (D-I)	**47,530**	**(100%)**
Crevelt (R)	**25,172**	**(100%)**

It bothers Republicans that there are any Democrats holding office in the Central Valley. But insurance broker Crevelt can't do much about it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 19 (47% D - 40% R)

Lagomarsino (R-I)	**49,022**	**(100%)**
Mealy (D)	9,847	(28%)
Norris (D)	**15,784**	**(45%)**
Perkins (D)	9,563	(27%)
Hasara (L)	**212**	**(100%)**

Maybe author and physicist Norris is trying to get a head start on 1988, when Democrats hope Lagomarsino will retire from Congress, because there is little chance he can be beaten this year. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 20 (45% D - 46% R)

Thomas (R-I)	**53,758**	**(100%)**
Moquin (D)	**22,823**	**(57%)**
Serra (D)	17,123	(43%)

Businessman Moquin defeated systems analyst Serra to win the right to be the next person beaten by Thomas, who should start his fifth term in Congress next year. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (38% D - 51% R)

Dart (D)	5,739	(16%)
Felberg (D)	3,492	(10%)
Irek (D)	3,621	(10%)
Margolis (D)	8,396	(24%)
Parker (D)	3,625	(10%)
Saldana (D)	**10,117**	**(29%)**
Gallegly (R)	**33,441**	**(50%)**
Hope (R)	22,759	(34%)
La Porte (R)	10,391	(16%)
Wiener (L)	**218**	**(100%)**

Sometimes just having famous friends isn't enough. Tony Hope, the son of comedian Bob Hope, decided to run for this seat when Representative Bobbi Fiedler chose to make an ill-fated run for the U. S. Senate. His entry into the contest was enough to scare out Assemblyman Tom McClintock who bowed to Hope's superior name identification. But Simi Valley Mayor Gallegly didn't, and he launched a spirited campaign that included charges Hope was really a carpetbagger who only moved to the area to run for Congress. With Gallegly's convincing victory, he is nearly certain to win in November over Oxnard Councilman Saldana in this very Republican district. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 22 (35% D - 56% R)

Moorhead (R-I)	**55,154**	**(100%)**
Simmons (D)	**31,018**	**(100%)**
Bergland (L)	**226**	**(100%)**
Lorimer (P&F)	**53**	**(100%)**

Four years ago, Moor head won 74 percent of the vote. Two years ago, he won 85 percent of the vote. Will he reach 90 percent this year? That's the challenge that faces Democrat Simmons. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (53% D - 37% R)

Beilenson (D-I)	**51,918**	**(88%)**
Jacobson (D)	4,448	(8%)
Kurdi (D)	2,580	(4%)
Woolverton (R)	**23,002**	**(100%)**
Rhodes (L)	**185**	**(100%)**
Hopke (P&F)	**95**	**(100%)**

Republicans look at the registration in this district — which continues to slide their way — and talk about how they plan to surprise 10-year veteran Beilenson. But the incumbent has managed to get more than 60 percent of the vote for the last three terms, and businessman Woolverton will have a tough time doing much better. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (59% D - 29% R)

Waxman (D-I)	**41,122**	**(100%)**
Abrahams (L)	**197**	**(100%)**
Green (P&F)	**145**	**(100%)**

Republicans didn't even bother to find someone to oppose Waxman who now has even more time to worry about the reelection of Democrats elsewhere in Southern California. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (70% D - 21% R)

Roybal (D-I)	**30,474**	**(89%)**
Andromidas (D)	3,743	(11%)
Hardy (R)	**7,372**	**(100%)**
Brown (L)	**82**	**(100%)**

Twenty-four year veteran Roybal had little trouble with La Rouche backer Andromidas in the primary and beating Republican Hardy won't be much more trouble. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (56% D - 35% R)

Berman (D-I)	**47,001**	**(100%)**
Frazier (R)	7,224	(30%)
Kerns (R)	**17,196**	**(70%)**

Berman should have no trouble beating businessman Kerns and returning for a third term in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 27 (54% D - 34% R)

Levine (D-I)	**50,723**	**(100%)**
Froehlich (R)	4,045	(14%)
Scribner (R)	**25,673**	**(86%)**
Leathers (L)	**250**	**(100%)**
O'Connor (P&F)	**177**	**(100%)**

Former Los Angeles Ram Rob Scribner won the right to an encore challenge to Levine, who managed to win only 53 percent of the vote against Scribner two years ago. But Levine didn't really campaign then. This time he'll be prepared. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 28 (73% D - 19% R)

Dixon (D-I)	**51,352**	**(93%)**
Alcoset (D)	4,056	(7%)
Adams (R)	**5,801**	**(44%)**
Allen (R)	5,175	(39%)
Cline (R)	2,160	(16%)
Johnson (L)	**72**	**(100%)**

Lionel Adams tried to run against Levine two years ago but found he couldn't get past Scribner. So this time he's moved next door to try against Dixon, where he has even less of a chance of going to Congress. Adams probably knows it, because he didn't even bother to print up new business cards. By hand, he turned the "27" on his old card into a "28." SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (84% D - 11% R)

Hawkins (D-I)	**46,108**	**(93%)**
Evans (D)	3,370	(7%)
Van de Brooke (R)	**4,710**	**(100%)**
Boctor (L)	**14**	**(100%)**

Mervin Evans dropped two percentage points in his relentless quest to oust 24-year veteran Augustus Hawkins from Congress. But things should be even worse for Republican John Van de Brooke. There's no way he can win in this district, and being a resident of Sunnyvale in Northern California won't help. Presumably, it was hard to find a Republican in the most Democratic district in the state. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (61% D - 30% R)

Martinez (D-I)	**26,767**	**(81%)**
Barron (D)	3,990	(12%)
Trivich (D)	2,140	(7%)
Almquist (R)	**8,509**	**(58%)**
Radlovic (R)	6,211	(42%)
Goldsworthy (L)	**61**	**(100%)**

Two-termer Marty Martinez, sometimes considered the weakest Democratic incumbent, showed more strength in this primary than some expected. It's going to be very tough for La Canada businessman John Almquist to beat him. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (71% D - 20% R)

Dymally (D-I)	**39,505**	**(85%)**
Zondervan (D)	7,296	(16%)
Boogaard (R)	2,213	(18%)
McMurray (R)	**6,632**	**(51%)**
Odoi (R)	3,880	(31%)
Duren (P&F)	**50**	**(100%)**

Somebody always takes a crack at Mervyn Dymally, and just as regularly he turns them away. Torrance businessman Jack McMurray will be next. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (58% D - 33% R)

Anderson (D-I)	**41,850**	**(91%)**
Thrasher (D)	4,255	(9%)
Dean (R)	11,146	(49%)
Robertson (R)	**11,739**	**(51%)**
Donohue (P&F)	**101**	**(100%)**

Glenn Anderson has steadily increased his share of the vote for the past two elections, despite some slippage in Democratic registration in the district. There's no reason the trend won't continue against Manhattan Beach business executive Joyce Robertson. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 33 (43% D - 48% R)

Dreier (R-I)	**39,647**	**(100%)**
Hempel (D)	**25,305**	**(76%)**
Jeffery (D)	8,127	(24%)
Noonan (P&F)	**53**	**(100%)**

David Dreier is young, conservative and headed for a third term in Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 34 (62% D - 29% R)

Torres (D-I)	**32,296**	**(100%)**
House (R)	**12,831**	**(100%)**

Esteban Torres gets a new opponent this year, Deputy Sheriff Charles House. But it won't matter. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 35 (40% D - 49% R)

Lewis (R-I)	**47,571**	**(100%)**
Hall (D)	**31,244**	**(100%)**

Jerry Lewis gets reelected for a fifth term in Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 36 (55% D - 35% R)

Brown (D-I)	**38,603**	**(100%)**
Arnold (R)	3,551	(13%)
Henley (R)	**14,264**	**(51%)**
Pierce (R)	10,255	(37%)

Republicans think they have a live one in Colton businessman Bob Henley, a new challenger for liberal George Brown who beat John Paul Stark three times in a row. This district is rapidly becoming less Democratic as new residents move into western San Bernardino County, and Republicans think they can make a good case for ousting Brown, a 22-year veteran of the House. They plan to spend a lot of money trying. The GOP has managed to add more than 2000 voters since the first of the year while Democrats have seen a drop of more than 6500 from their ranks. Although Brown sometimes takes an

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Brown

Henley

overly casual approach to his reelection, he's a good campaigner if aroused. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 37 (44% D - 46% R)

McCandless (R-I)	**50,106**	**(85%)**
Mathewson (R)	8,959	(15%)
Kolk (D)	10,704	(26%)
Pearson (D)	13,471	(32%)
Skinner (D)	**17,515**	**(42%)**

Folks in Riverside County don't like sudden changes. Bud Mathewson challenged Representative Al McCandless two years ago and his Democratic opponent then, as now, was David Skinner. No reason November's outcome will change, either. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (48% D - 41% R)

Dornan (R-I)	**26,000**	**(100%)**
Carter (D)	10,158	(33%)
Robinson (D)	**20,267**	**(67%)**
Connelly (L)	**168**	**(100%)**

This is going to be a great election campaign. Two of the most feisty, combative, outspoken candidates in the state will square off in a million-dollar campaign. "B1" Bob Dornan can always be counted on at least to say something outrageous, if he can manage to avoid physically accosting his opponent. And Richard Robinson, who dogged the likely loss of his

Robinson

Dornan

Assembly seat by switching to the congressional race, takes a back seat to no one when it comes to verbal fisticuffs. Dornan's backers were openly pleased when Robinson beat Judge Dave Carter. They figure Robinson's Assembly record will give Dornan more to work with. The district is deep in the heart of Orange County, and it's hard to see any Democrat winning here, even with all the material Dornan provides. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 39 (35% D - 56% R)

Dannemeyer (R-I)	**59,963**	**(100%)**
Pike (D)	10,798	(38%)
Vest (D)	**17,773**	**(62%)**
Boeheim (P&F)	**64**	**(100%)**

Bill Dannemeyer provides a lot to work with, too. After all, he campaigned for the U. S. Senate last year with a stuffed turkey as his campaign mascot. But voters in Orange County apparently love it. He'll be back. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 40 (31% D - 58% R)

Badham (R-I)	**51,827**	**(66%)**
Rosenberg (R)	27,310	(35%)
Hoffman (D)	**15,089**	**(51%)**
Sumner (D)	14,624	(49%)
Sears (P&F)	**67**	**(100%)**

Incumbent Robert Badham has been stung by criticism that he's one of Congress' foremost junketeers. He managed less than two-thirds of the vote in his own primary against a well-financed opponent. But he lucked out in the general election. The Democratic nominee, Art Hoffman, is the only La Rouche backer to make the runoff. After a manual count, Hoffman beat by 465 votes a write-in campaign launched at the last minute by Orange County Democratic Party Chairman Bruce Sumner who has said he will ask for recount. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 41 (38% D - 48% R)

Lowery (R-I)	**60,916**	**(100%)**
Kripke (D)	**28,194**	**(60%)**
Maruniak (D)	18,614	(40%)
Rider (L)	**359**	**(100%)**

No hope for Democrats here. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (38% D - 52% R)

Lungren (R-I)	**55,070**	**(100%)**
Blackburn (D)	**17,757**	**(51%)**
McGreal (D)	3,773	(11%)
Olsen (D)	13,104	(38%)
McClatchy (P&F)	**79**	**(100%)**

Dan Lungren seriously flirted with a run for U. S. Senate. Now, he'll be back in the House. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 43 (31% D - 56% R)

Packard (R-I)	**63,287**	**(100%)**
Chirra (D)	**27,216**	**(100%)**
Avery (L)	**248**	**(100%)**

The only time Packard had to struggle for this seat was 1982, when he first won it by a write-in. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 44 (56% D - 32% R)

Bates (D-I)	**38,381**	**(100%)**
London (R)	6,771	(30%)
Mitchell (R)	**11,942**	**(52%)**
Pierson (R)	4,256	(19%)
Thompson (L)	**155**	**(100%)**
Isaacson (P&F)	**58**	**(100%)**

Republicans think this district is slipping into their column, and they are making noise about how they just might try to surprise two-term incumbent Jim Bates. They've got the opponent they want in San Diego businessman Bill Mitchell. But Bates has run well ahead of district registration in the past and right now the district LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 45 (39% D - 48% R)

Hunter (R-I)	**46,106**	**(100%)**
Hollis (D)	7,393	(23%)
Ryan (D)	**14,854**	**(47%)**
Seeto (D)	9,616	(30%)
Schwartz (L)	**164**	**(100%)**

Duncan Hunter got 75 percent of the vote two years ago. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

STATE SENATE

With only even-numbered Senate districts up for reelection this year, Republicans enter this campaign season with high hopes of eroding the Democrats' 26-14 grip on the upper house. Sixteen of the 20 senators up for election are Democrats, and a shift of six seats could deadlock the Senate. On the other side, a net gain of one for the Democrats could give them the two-thirds vote necessary for a veto-proof upper house. Thus, much rides on the voters' whims and fancies come November.

Because the four Republican incumbents up for reelection appear safe and snug, interest — and money — will focus on seven Democratic-controlled seats. Republicans have an outside chance in three of the districts: the 2nd, where Majority Leader Barry Keene holds forth; and the 34th and 36th, where Republican registration is gaining fast on Ruben Ayala and Bob Presley. The latter two are districts that the GOP should capture — if not in 1986, then soon.

Republicans feel they have a reasonable chance to turn out three other incumbents right now and take yet another seat held by a retiring Democrat. The endangered Democrats are Leroy Greene (6th), Dan McCorquodale (12th) and Gary Hart (18th).

The GOP has made capture of the 16th District its top priority, however. There, Democrat Walter Stiern is retiring, and incumbent GOP Assemblyman Don Rogers of Bakersfield is given the best chance to succeed him and bring the district into Republican hands. Rogers is opposed by community college chancellor James Young of Arvin in what promises to be a bruising and expensive campaign.

The only other November election of note pits Democratic Assemblyman Lou Papan against former Democrat (now independent) Quentin Kopp, a San Francisco supervisor, in the 8th District race to succeed Democrat John Foran. Both Papan and Kopp are combative personalities, and the fur is already flying around San Francisco Bay. Kopp's ability to raise enough money to offset Papan's ample warchest is the only unknown at this point.

Another unknown at this point — for all the disputed races — is the coattail effect of Governor George Deukmejian. Used wisely, the governor could make an impact in several of the districts where he is personally popular (against Hart and Young, for instance).

DISTRICT 2 (57% D - 31% R)

Keene (D-I)	**68,069**	**(100%)**
Brann (R)	**37,385**	**(100%)**
Elizondo (P&F)	**335**	**(100%)**

This district includes the coast from Marin County to the Oregon border and is politically schizophrenic — split between environmentalists and the timber industry. Incumbent Barry

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Keene, the Senate majority leader, has traditionally walked a tightrope between the two sides. Republicans say they'll give him a tough race here with Dick Brann, a long-time member of the Bay Conservation and Development Commission. What they really want to do is tie him to his home base and keep him from causing mischief elsewhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 4 (51% D - 39% R)

Nielsen (R-I)	**65,747**	**(100%)**
Cibula (D)	**60,454**	**(100%)**

This district takes in lush wine-growing areas around the Napa Valley and extends north to include Shasta County. It is now represented by Senate Minority Leader Jim Nielsen, part of whose job is to elect more Republicans to the Senate. Democrats would like to hinder Nielsen by forcing him to protect himself at home. Thus they can't have been very pleased by the primary results where, in spite of lower registration, Republican Nielsen garnered 5000 more votes than did Democrat Frank Cibula, a Redding attorney. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 6 (58% D - 33% R)

L. Greene (D-I)	**78,789**	**(100%)**
Smoley (R)	**47,697**	**(100%)**

A bruising and expensive fight is brewing in this Sacramento-area district between incumbent

Smoley

Greene

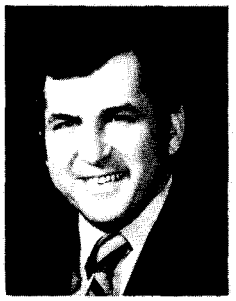
Leroy Greene, who is both hard-working and abrasive, and popular Sacramento County Supervisor Sandy Smoley, who is perhaps more well known in the district. Both sides have given this race top priority and both plan heavy voter-registration drives and a huge influx of money. So far the GOP is winning the race for voters — in a negative sense. Since January more than 7000 Democrats have dropped off voter rolls against only about 1500 Republicans. Look for auxilliary issues to play important roles in the campaign, like Smoley's outspoken support for a sports stadium in Sacramento. TOSS-UP.

DISTRICT 8 (64% D - 23% R)

Gonzalez (D)	13,689	(20%)
Papan (D)	**54,836**	**(80%)**
Gray (R)	**12,956**	**(56%)**
Silvestri (R)	10,265	**(44%)**

Assembly Rules Committee Chairman Lou Papan brushed aside Jim Gonzales, an aide to San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, in the Democratic primary to see who will succeed Senator John Foran who is leaving politics. On the GOP side, San Bruno businessman Russell Gray eked out a victory over Robert Silvestri, a San Francisco activist. Normally, the Democratic primary in this district produces the eventual winner, but this year things are slightly askew. Feisty San Francisco County Supervisor Quentin Kopp, a former Democrat, plans to run as an independent, and the brawl between Papan and Kopp should be both expensive and enter-

Kopp



Papan

taining. Kopp's supervisorial district lies entirely inside this Senate district, and private polls taken for Kopp last March show he beats Papan. Of course, no one takes Papan lightly when it comes to a brawl. Also, if the Republican hurts anyone in this district, he hurts Kopp. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 10 (57% D - 31% R)

Lockyer (D-I)	**57,441**	**(100%)**
Bergondy (R)	**29,865**	**(100%)**

Republican Bruce Bergondy, a tax analyst from Hayward, lost an Assembly race to incumbent Democrat Johann Klehs by 44,000 votes in 1984. There's nothing to indicate he'll fare any better against Lockyer. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (55% D - 34% R)

McCorquodale (D-I)	**42,684**	**(100%)**
Herriott (R)	13,775	(39%)
Legan (R)	**21,988**	**(62%)**

Senate Republicans have made McCorquodale a top target, and Democrats have responded by mounting an active registration drive that added 3000 voters to their advantage

McCorquodale

Legan

since January 1986. The GOP primary here was also a bit fractious. Herriott, an airline pilot, was supported by conservatives in the Senate caucus, while San Jose Supervisor Tom Legan garnered support from most local Republicans, including state Senator Becky Morgan who represents the neighboring 11th District. In 1982 McCorquodale won a narrow victory over then-Senator Dan O'Keefe and will need a ton of money and a strong campaign to defeat Legan. TOSS-UP.

DISTRICT 14 (51% D - 39% R)

Maddy (R-I)	**45,514**	**(100%)**
LeSage (D)	**38,196**	**(100%)**

Maddy has an easy ride. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 16 (54% D - 37% R)

Ablin (D)	15,341	(29%)
J. Young (D)	**36,887**	**(71%)**
Rogers (R)	**39,574**	**(84%)**
P. Young (R)	7,656	(16%)

The battle to succeed Democratic Senate dean Walter Stiern is everyone's top priority. The Republican nominee, Don Rogers, is an incumbent assemblyman who is used to winning in tough districts. The Democrat, community college chancellor Jim Young, has strong credentials in education. During the past six months, Republicans have registered over 8000 new voters. Democrats only 2700. Money will be the key here, especially if Democrats are to counter Rogers' name recognition. Aggressive cam-

Young

Rogers

paigning will also count since the district sprawls from Kings County south and west to Pasadena. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 18 (48% D - 39% R)

Hart (D-I)	**46,354**	**(100%)**
Holmdahl (R)	**42,796**	**(100%)**
Wood (L)	**221**	**(100%)**

The registration figures have to scare the bejeezus out of Gary Hart. This affluent, coastal district is fast slipping away from his party, with an independent streak evidenced by the 10 percent registered as "declined to state." Hart can take some comfort in the fact that these are loyal voters who, once won over, rarely change. Hart first won this seat after a bruising and expensive battle four years ago against Charles Imbrecht. He's also beaten Holmdahl, a Santa Barbara County supervisor, when the two squared off in an Assembly race in 1978. Still, Republicans think the numbers have changed significantly since then and, with a popular governor heading the ticket, see their chance to retire Hart. Hart himself seems to sense the danger. Why else would a liberal, death-penalty opponent come out against Chief Justice Rose Bird? LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 20 (56% D - 35% R)

Robbins (D-I)	**44,997**	**(100%)**
Davis (R)	**20,272**	**(69%)**
Haigazian (R)	9,115	(31%)

Robbins won't need to campaign too hard. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 22 (58% D - 32% R)

Rosenthal (D-I)	**72,380**	**(100%)**
Sias (R)	**32,789**	**(100%)**
Russell (L)	**268**	**(100%)**
Kirk (P&F)	**179**	**(100%)**

Things are rosy for Rosenthal. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (69% D - 22% R)

Torres (D-I)	**25,990**	**(100%)**
Prentiss (R)	**8,713**	**(100%)**
Brown (L)	**71**	**(100%)**

Torres' toughest fight came in the 1982 primary against former state Senator Alex Garcia. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (62% D - 29% R)

Montoya (D-I)	**36,452**	**(100%)**

We're going way out on a limb here. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

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DISTRICT 28 (73% D - 19% R)

Watson (D-I)	**66,478**	**(100%)**
Vaquer (R)	**14,645**	**(100%)**

Republicans need not apply. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 30 (68% D - 22% R)

Dills (D-I)	**42,171**	**(100%)**
Cole (R)	5,415	(37%)
Gray (R)	**9,190**	**(63%)**
Chauser (P&F)	**73**	**(100%)**

Following his reelection, Dills will join Senators Alquist, Petris and Richardson as co-deans of the Senate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (43% D - 47% R)

Royce (R-I)	**41,633**	**(100%)**
Hoffman (D)	**21,223**	**(70%)**
Sapien (D)	8,922	(30%)

Democrats envisioned a scenario of sorts to upset Royce. Since 37 percent of the district is Hispanic, they reasoned that Sal Sapien, the Hispanic mayor pro tem of Stanton, had a chance to defeat the incumbent. So much for scenarios. Hoffman is a member of the Orange County Board of Education. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 34 (54% D - 36% R)

Ayala (D-I)	**39,764**	**(100%)**
Norton (R)	9,855	(34%)
Turner (R)	**18,845**	**(66%)**

During the first six months of 1986 Republicans closed the gap on Democrats by 8000 registered voters. They have a long way to go, however. Ayala is a hard-working conservative Democrat who defeated his Republican opponent by 40,000 votes in 1982. Still, if the registration trend continues throughout the summer, and if polls show Governor Deukmejian's popularity strong in district communities like San Bernardino, Pomona and Ontario, the GOP may make an effort to unseat Ayala. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 36 (47% D - 42% R)

Presley (D-I)	**45,187**	**(100%)**
Olivarria (R)	20,808	(40%)
Richardson (R)	**30,655**	**(60%)**

The only thing that keeps this district in the Democratic column is incumbent Bob Presley. To demonstrate his popularity, 20,000 Republicans voted for a candidate (Gil Olivarria) who said during the campaign that he supported Presley and would withdraw if he won the primary. Republican Anne Richardson has the support of state Senator H.L. Richardson (no relation) who, for lack of anything better to do, may try to make mischief with Presley. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 38 (34% D - 51% R)

Craven (R-I)	**77,440**	**(100%)**
Mill (L)	**396**	**(100%)**

Democrats didn't even try. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 40 (54% D - 34% R)

Deddeh (D-I)	**43,448**	**(100%)**
Hoover (R)	**16,629**	**(61%)**
Watson (R)	10,869	(40%)
Beard (P&F)	**69**	**(100%)**

Democratic registration has slipped a bit during the first half of this year, but not enough to hurt Deddeh. The Republican candidate, Bill Hoover, is a police lieutenant from Imperial Beach. This is the only Democratic Senate district in San Diego County. Someday, this may fall into GOP hands, but not this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

ASSEMBLY

The tenures of at least 11 members of the California Assembly end with the November election. That represents a 15 percent turn-over rate since the last election, a substantial number although not as great as the 22 members who left following the 1981-82 session.

Two members are voluntarily retiring from politics: Democrats Jean Moorhead Duffy and Frank Vicencia. Nine ran for other offices: Republican Don Sebastiani and Democrats Gray Davis and Alister McAlister for state controller; Republican Bob Naylor for the U.S. Senate; Republicans Wally Herger and Ernie Konnyu and Democrat Richard Robinson for Congress; and Democrat Lou Papan and Republican Don Rogers for the state Senate. One other former member — Richard Alatorre — left the Assembly last March after having been elected to the Los Angeles City Council. Then, of course, there may be a member or two who retires not so voluntarily, like at the request of the electorate.

As the following capsule summaries indicate, most districts are safe for one party or another. That means most of the zillion dollars raised in campaign contributions will be spent in marginal districts. The most intense battles will take place in the 3rd, 5th, 8th, 9th, 33rd, 39th, 63rd, 68th, 72nd and 78th districts.

Of course, no matter what happens, the GOP has no hope of attaining a majority, for Governor Deukmejian's coattails aren't nearly long enough or strong enough for that gargantuan task. They'd merely like to knock down the Democrats' current 47-33 margin, and thus must take seats away from Democrats.

The test of any caucus leadership is its ability to improve or maintain its party's numbers in the Assembly. Complaints about former Minority Leader Robert Naylor's inability to do that led to his ouster two years ago by conservative members of the caucus. They installed Pat Nolan in his place. Now, it is Nolan's turn to produce or perish.

Based on this Republican primary, Nolan stumbled coming out of the gate. In five districts (four in Northern California and one in the Central Valley), Nolan's closest allies — mostly Southern Californians known as "Nolanistas" — chose to wage civil war against other Republicans by funneling large amounts of campaign cash into contested GOP primaries. They lavished nearly three quarters of a million dollars on hand-picked disciples in these districts and, along the way, irked local party leaders and opposing candidates. In the 3rd District, their meddling on behalf of Chris Chandler brought an angry response from another member of the Assembly GOP caucus — Stan Statham, whose legislative aide was running in the same primary. Statham wasn't alone in his anger; three more Republican assemblymen joined him in a letter to the caucus condemning the Nolanistas' mischief. Still others privately expressed their displeasure.

Nolanistas ended up losing three of the five contested races. The bad news is two of the candidates who beat them are in districts that will be heavily contested by Democrats this fall, and their chances for victory in November were weakened by the Nolanistas' tactics — Trice Harvey in the 33rd District and Bev Hansen in the 8th District.

Nolan denies any personal involvement. It's a caucus made up of independent-minded individuals, he claims. Despite his protestations of innocence, however, the only members of his caucus to make a concerted effort to defeat other Republicans were those members closest to Nolan himself — John Lewis, Bill Baker, Dennis Brown, Gil Ferguson, Gerald Felando, Wayne Grisham, Frank Hill, Ross Johnson. It is not inconceivable that, should Republicans lose the Harvey and Hansen races and fail to gain elsewhere, Nolan's tenure as minority leader could end, abruptly.

On the Democratic side, Speaker Willie Brown and his political forces also meddled in a few primaries, but Brown seems to be more adept at picking his spots. He lost only one — in the 19th District where a well-known county supervisor, Jackie Speier, beat the speaker's choice — San Francisco police detective Mike Nevin.

DISTRICT 1 (50% D - 39% R)

Statham (R-I)	**33,963**	**(100%)**
Caudle (D)	**32,667**	**(100%)**

Democratic registration in this large, rural, basically conservative district has been falling steadily throughout the year — as though Statham needs another advantage. He was unopposed in '84 and won't have much of a challenge this year. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 2 (57% D - 31% R)

Hauser (D-I)	**38,309**	**(100%)**
Kennedy (R)	**15,990**	**(69%)**
Mengel (R)	7,215	(31%)

Two years ago Hauser fought off a bitter challenge from former Humboldt County Supervisor Danny Walsh who ran ahead of President Reagan and still lost by nearly 7000 votes. This time Hauser faces George Kennedy, a Sebastopol businessman. Indications are Republicans will leave Hauser alone, admitting that this north coast district is very tough on Republicans. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 3 (46% D - 43% R)

Fulton (D)	14,394	(47%)
Marsh (D)	**15,995**	**(53%)**
Chandler (R)	**10,718**	**(28%)**
Evans (R)	7,606	(20%)
Harrison (R)	1,474	(4%)
Narbaitz (R)	7,650	(20%)
Stoos (R)	7,735	(20%)
Wheeler (R)	3,534	(9%)

When Republican Wally Herger decided to seek

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a congressional seat, it set up an all-out primary war that was waged as much in Sacramento as in the district. On the Republican side, it highlighted fractures within the Assembly's GOP caucus. The coterie of conservatives ("Nolanistas"), mostly from Southern California, that surrounds Minority Leader Pat Nolan poured close to $130,000 into Chandler's campaign. That interference angered Assemblyman Stan Statham, whose 1st District borders this one and whose aide — Ray Narbaitz — was also in the running. Statham provided Narbaitz with at least $50,000. On the Democratic side, Speaker Willie Brown threw his weight behind Bud Marsh, rancher, Colusa County supervisor and former head of the National Wool Growers Association. With Brown's help, Marsh overcame Len Fulton, a well-known supervisor from Butte County. Looking ahead to November, this district should stay in the Republican column. But the fly in that ointment may be Marsh himself, a colorful, rough-hewn rancher who wears ten-

Marsh

Chandler

gallon hats and has strong ties to agriculture — the dominant industry in this rustic, eagle-shaped district. Chandler, a 30-ish attorney and businessman from Yuba City, is the son of a Sutter County supervisor. Lots of money will be spent here. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 4 (57% D - 30% R)

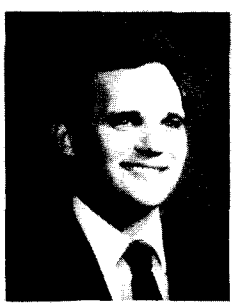
Hannigan (D-I)	**34,300**	**(100%)**
Hague (R)	**14,461**	**(100%)**

Not even George Deukmejian's coattails are going to drag UCD student Steven Hague past Tom Hannigan. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 5 (51% D - 38% R)

Byouk (D)	17,136	(44%)
Dugan (D)	**21,599**	**(56%)**
Brouillette (R)	5,091	(16%)
Leslie (R)	**26,686**	**(84%)**
Carr (L)	**141**	**(100%)**

A top priority for both Republicans and Demo-



Leslie

Dugan

crats. Republican Tim Leslie came within a whisker of winning the seat two years ago against incumbent Jean Moorhead Duffy. With Duffy retiring, the GOP plans an all-out assault to elect Leslie. To counter their vulnerability, Assembly Democrats shopped around for a candidate they thought would fit this conservative Sacramento-area district. Enter Jack Dugan, a retired Army officer who served in Vietnam and as head of the attorney general's crime-prevention bureau. Still, efforts to hand-pick Dugan ran afoul of some district Democrats who complained that they had been bullied out of running. Plus, it took a last-minute influx of heavy cash from Assembly Democrats to boost Dugan past John Byouk, a member of the Roseville City Council. This promises to be a million-dollar race come November. TOSS-UP.

DISTRICT 6 (57% D - 33% R)

Connelly (D-I)	**38,243**	**(100%)**
Bain (R)	6,542	(31%)
Green (R)	**14,307**	**(69%)**

Connelly is unbeatable. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 7 (51% D - 38% R)

Waters (D-I)	**38,857**	**(100%)**
Holm (R)	**29,511**	**(100%)**
Page (L)	**168**	**(100%)**

Republicans often cast longing glances toward this rural enclave, which takes in the southern part of Sacramento County then sprawls east and south into the Sierra. But their view is blocked by Norm Waters who ran 17 points ahead of registration in 1984. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 8 (54% D - 36% R)

Jadiker (D-I)	**36,166**	**(100%)**
Ford (R)	2,998	(8%)
Hansen (R)	**12,207**	**(33%)**
McClure (R)	9,116	(24%)
Moskowite (R)	9,768	(26%)
Riley (R)	3,309	(9%)

Another case where conservative Assembly Republicans meddled in local affairs. This time they were burned by Bev Hansen who won de-

Jadiker

Hansen

spite $120,000 Nolanistas poured into Martin McClure's campaign. Hansen, a businesswoman from Santa Rosa, now emerges from a bruising primary to face fellow Santa Rosan Mary Jadiker. Democrats speak confidently of capturing this seat, held for the past six years by Republican Don Sebastiani. Jadiker narrowly lost to Sebastiani two years ago despite little help from Assembly Democrats. This year she'll have all the resources she needs, and Assembly Republicans frankly admit they're in trouble. One reason for this pessimism might be falling GOP registration, which might have been bolstered had they put $120,000 into a voter-registration drive. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 9 (52% D - 34% R)

Filante (R-I)	**26,805**	**(100%)**
Willmann (D)	**28,197**	**(100%)**

Democrats consider this district ripe for an upset. Republicans aren't all that worried — publicly — but JoHanna Willmann will prove a formidable opponent for Filante. The mayor of

Willmann

Filante

Fairfax, she will benefit from Democratic money and a strong voter-registration drive that added nearly 2700 to the Democrats' margin last year. Republicans count on the fact that Filante has done a good job for his district, which takes in Marin and southern Sonoma counties. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 10 (58% D - 33% R)

Isenberg (D-I)	**35,621**	**(100%)**
Sullivan (R)	**20,713**	**(100%)**

Growing Republican registration isn't growing enough to worry Isenberg who, it is rumored, will be the new chairman of the powerful Assembly Rules Committee now that long-time chairman Lou Papan is running for the state Senate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 11 (65% D - 24% R)

Campbell (D-I)	**33,213**	**(100%)**
DeWitt (R)	**12,193**	**(100%)**

Campbell has nearly a free ride. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 12 (62% D - 25% R)

Bates (D-I)	**48,912**	**(90%)**
Lintner (D)	5,265	(10%)
Sparks (R)	6,296	(33%)
Udinsky (R)	**12,529**	**(67%)**
McCord (L)	**239**	**(100%)**
Mar (P&F)	**323**	**(100%)**

The chaos that serves as local politics in Berkeley never touches Bates. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 13 (72% D - 16% R)

Harris (D-I)	**35,266**	**(100%)**
Matthews (R)	4,477	(47%)
Norman (R)	**5,095**	**(53%)**

David Norman is a research analyst from Alameda. He's accustomed to drawing conclusions from a set of facts. Here's a fact: Nearly four times as many people voted for Harris in this primary than voted for both Republicans. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 14 (64% D - 25% R)

Klehs (D-I)	**33,214**	**(100%)**
Jones (R)	**8,873**	**(59%)**
Wong (R)	6,227	(41%)

A Democratic haven in the East Bay. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 15 (38% D - 51% R)

Baker (R-I)	**39,830**	**(100%)**
Bennett (D)	**22,966**	**(100%)**

Bill Baker must not take his opponent, San Ramon City Councilman Wayne Bennett, very seriously. A Nolanista, Baker dumped $95,000 into a fund to help Republicans beat up other Republicans in the primary. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

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DISTRICT 16 (68% D - 15% R)

Agnos (D-I)	**30,364**	**(100%)**
Woods (R)	**4,761**	**(100%)**
Schon (P&F)	78	(34%)
Weber (P&F)	**153**	**(66%)**

Max Woods, a cable car gripman, is a San Francisco perennial who blooms every election year. Agnos has possible designs on the San Francisco mayor's office. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 17 (63% D - 20% R)

Brown (D-I)	**32,471**	**(100%)**
Corino (R)	**8,013**	**(84%)**
Wikle (R)	1,526	(16%)
Hoy (L)	**171**	**(100%)**

Willie Brown's worries in November lie elsewhere — like in Sonoma, Santa Ana, Bellflower and San Diego. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 18 (54% D - 30% R)

Barrientos (D)	2,712	(11%)
Eastin (D)	**18,168**	**(74%)**
Johnson (D)	3,747	(15%)
Bocchini (R)	4,076	(30%)
Mehan (R)	**7,971**	**(58%)**
Schweickhardt (R)	1,745	(13%)
Hanes (L)	**90**	**(100%)**

Assembly Democrats think Councilwoman Delaine Eastin from Union City can hold this district that for 16 years has been kept in the Democratic column by Alister McAlister who lost the primary for state controller. McAlister was a perfect reflection of this conservative East Bay district and managed to keep it safe despite growing GOP registration. Eastin showed her campaign prowess by brushing aside Milpitas Mayor pro Tem Elwood Johnson in the primary. Of course, she received a good amount of help from Assembly Democrats. She should win in November as well for her Republican opponent, businessman Leo Mehan from Fremont, lost to McAlister two years ago by 2-to-1. Still, this one could be expensive. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

Speier

Rocco

DISTRICT 19 (31% D - 26% R)

Nevin (D)	19,316	(49%)
Speier (D)	**19,763**	**(51%)**
Faulkner (R)	4,786	(40%)
Rocco (R)	**7,163**	**(60%)**

The election battle here was all in the primary, and a battle it was between San Mateo County Supervisor Jackie Speier and Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's hand-picked candidate — San Francisco cop and Daly City Councilman Mike Nevin. Nevin got close to $140,000 from Assembly Democrats, including $40,000 from the speaker and $47,000 more from Pat Johnston (Nevin's brother-in-law). He outspent Speier nearly three-to-one, sending out two potholders and over 9000 potted plants. Plus, his campaign was run by Richie Ross, the speaker's political warlord. Still, it wasn't enough. Speier, a formidable campaigner, was aided by the fact that over two-thirds of the district's Democrats live in her supervisorial district. The magnanimous Speier promises to be as loyal an ally to Brown as is the man who is giving up this seat to run for the state Senate — Assembly Rules Chairman Lou Papan. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 20 (45% D - 43% R)

Bacciocco (D)	**22,965**	**(69%)**
Kelly (D)	10,310	(31%)
Duplissea (R)	**20,733**	**(60%)**
Ward (R)	14,111	(41%)

A huge case of political overkill. Nolanistas pumped $141,000 into Duplissea's campaign ($35,000 alone from Bill Baker) even though he already had the endorsement of the current occupant of this seat — Assemblyman Bob Naylor, defeated in the GOP primary for U.S. Senate. Ward, who picked up support from local elected officials, is a moderate (translated into Nolanese, that means "liberal"), and those close to the minority leader apparently will spare no expense to stamp out moderate Republicans (see District 22). Assembly Democrats also got involved in their primary on behalf of the eventual winner — San Mateo businessman Ed Bacciocco — and had made noise about mounting a challenge to Duplissea. But the numbers here don't justify the effort. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 21 (53% D - 32% R)

Sher (D-I)	**25,507**	**(100%)**
Downing (R)	7,617	(49%)
Philips (R)	**8,012**	**(51%)**
Grey (L)	**247**	**(100%)**
DeSio (P&F)	**75**	**(100%)**

Byron Sher is just too popular for any current Republican challenger. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 22 (41% D - 46% R)

Olsen (R)	13,704	(38%)
Quackenbush (R)	**16,656**	**(46%)**
Sparks (R)	6,196	(17%)
Ventura (D)	**22,073**	**(100%)**
Baker (L)	**222**	**(100%)**

This district has been a GOP stronghold for the departing Ernie Konnyu (who is moving on to Congress), but Nolanistas didn't want just any old Republican to replace Konnyu. They wanted a Nolanista clone named Henry Olsen whose main qualifications were loyalty to Nolan and a close personal friendship with Nolan lieutenant John Lewis. Standing in the way were Reed Sparks, vice mayor of San Jose, and entrepreneuer Charles Quackenbush. Nolanistas spent and spent and spent, but sometimes all the money in the world won't convince voters that a Pinto is really a Lincoln. When all the dust had cleared, Nolanistas had lavished $164,000 on Olsen who finished a poor second behind Quackenbush. The winner is an articulate, mediagenic self-made millionaire who will now face Brent Ventura, the Democratic mayor of Los Gatos. Democrats hint they may take a look at this district, but it will probably be a short look. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 23 (62% D - 26% R)

Vasconcellos (D-I)	**21,742**	**(100%)**
Knapp (R)	**7,002**	**(70%)**
Sloan (R)	3,055	(30%)
Watson (L)	**170**	**(100%)**
Williams (P&F)	**48**	**(100%)**

The Assembly's champion of "wellness" returns to Sacramento. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 24 (54% D - 33% R)

Cortese (D-I)	**21,594**	**(100%)**
Lorentz (R)	3,479	(24%)
Sandoval (R)	**11,170**	**(76%)**
Webster (L)	**132**	**(100%)**

Teacher Jack Sandoval has already lost twice to Cortese. Three is not a charm. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 25 (51% D - 35% R)

Areias (D-I)	**22,812**	**(100%)**
Gilmore (R)	**14,163**	**(100%)**
Hinkle (L)	**96**	**(100%)**

Republican registration is creeping up in this district, but not enough to challenge Areias' popularity. The most Morgan Hill businessman Ben Gilmore can hope for is that Deukmejian's coattails are long enough to keep it respectable. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 26 (57% D - 34% R)

Johnston (D-I)	**25,373**	**(100%)**
Biggs (R)	**16,544**	**(100%)**

Stockton and San Joaquin County have become safe territory for the once-embattled Pat Johnston. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 27 (56% D - 35% R)

Condit (D-I)	**21,722**	**(100%)**
DeYoung (R)	**14,840**	**(100%)**
Gerringer (L)	**56**	**(100%)**

On paper, this may seem a marginal Central Valley district, but Gary Condit polls higher here than either Reagan or Deukmejian. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 28 (53% D - 33% R)

Farr (D-I)	**34,458**	**(100%)**
Bosshard (R)	**22,281**	**(100%)**

This capsule-shaped coastal district is the setting for the most publicized election of 1986. No, not Farr-Bosshard. Clint Eastwood's successful campaign for mayor of Carmel. Republican registration here is creeping up on the Democrats, but it will take an Eastwood to pry the popular Farr out of here. Don't hold your breath, however. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 29 (41% D - 47% R)

Seastrand (R-I)	**33,070**	**(100%)**
Weber (D)	**20,277**	**(100%)**
Steddum (L)	**118**	**(100%)**

Educator Robert "Dugan" Weber is the latest cannon fodder for Eric Seastrand. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 30 (61% D - 30% R)

Costa (D-I)	**20,550**	**(100%)**
Anderson (R)	**10,987**	**(100%)**

Jim Costa reflects well the conservative, agricultural bias of this district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 31 (57% D - 36% R)

Bronzan (D-I)	**25,753**	**(100%)**
Farrington (R)	**14,516**	**(100%)**

Bruce Bronzan is a popular legislator, but Republican registration gains could, if the trend continues, make this central Fresno County district a political battleground. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 32 (46% D - 46% R)

Jones (R-I)	**28,812**	**(100%)**

SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 33 (52% D - 40% R)

Corcoran (D)	8,093	(36%)
Fallgatter (D)	**14,274**	**(64%)**
Allen (R)	12,911	(49%)
Harvey (R)	**13,208**	**(50%)**
Gifford (L)	**85**	**(100%)**

Strap on your seat belt for a wild ride through

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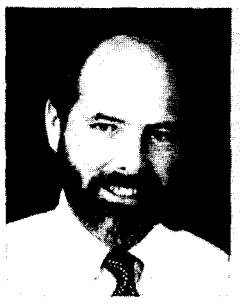
Bakersfield. Assembly Republicans announced early on that Kern County Supervisor Trice Harvey was their choice to succeed incumbent Republican Assemblyman Don Rogers, a candidate for state Senate. With strong support and improving GOP registration, it seemed Harvey was bound for Sacramento. But toward the end of the primary campaign, Nolanistas dispatched a trainload of cash to Harvey's opponent, rancher Anna Allen. In the final week before the election, Allen received close to $130,000 from 11 conservative members of the Assembly Republican caucus. Much of that money went into last-minute mailers that trashed Harvey, who still eked out a 300-vote victory. All these Machiavellian shennanigans



Fallgatter

Harvey

have filled Assembly Democrats with unbridled glee. Their candidate, Bakersfield attorney Thomas Fallgatter, won, and Democrats think he can wrest this district away from Republicans. The common joke is that all Fallgatter has to do is reissue Allen's mailers. Even Republicans admit that, thanks to the way their primary was conducted, the party's in trouble here. Go, ye, and figure. TOSS-UP.

DISTRICT 34 (45%D - 46% R)

Wyman (R-I)	**28,439**	**(100%)**

Wyman is one Assembly candidate who doesn't need Deukmejian's coattails. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 35 (50% D - 36%)

O'Connell (D-I)	**23,432**	**(100%)**
Urdahl (R)	**21,353**	**(100%)**
Bakhaus (L)	**124**	**(100%)**

This should be a marginal seat, but incumbent Jack O'Connell works so hard for this Santa Barbara-Ventura County coastal district that it's difficult for Republicans to penetrate his popularity. Still, the numbers usually mean that Assembly Republicans will fuel a challenge. Two years ago, their horse was the popular sheriff of Santa Barbara. O'Connell whomped him. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 36 (39% D - 49% R)

McClintock (R-I)	**33,146**	**(90%)**
Hamel (R)	3,566	(10%)
Golis (D)	4,822	(25%)
Nekimken (D)	**14,776**	**(75%)**
Driscoll (L)	**133**	**(100%)**

No threat to McClintock here. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 37 (38% D - 51% R)

Wright (R-I)	**31,626**	**(100%)**
Hesse (D)	**17,383**	**(100%)**
Dull (L)	**106**	**(100%)**

A Republican fortress. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 38 (42% D - 49% R)

La Follette (R-I)	**28,599**	**(100%)**
Lit (D)	**20,231**	**(100%)**

Democratic registration is on a steady track — downward. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 39 (56% D - 35% R)

Katz (D-I)	**19,239**	**(100%)**
Thoreson (R)	**13,869**	**(100%)**

An expensive race in the making. Thoreson, an LA police detective, lost to Katz two years ago, but the results were closer than expected. This time, there are even more GOP voters in the district, located in the conservative San Fernando Valley. That, coupled with George Deukmejian's popularity here, gives Republicans hope of retiring Katz. But Democrats say their party's voters are loyal enough to send him back again. Both sides will spend plenty to prove they're right. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 40 (55% D - 36% R)

Bane (D-I)	**23,183**	**(100%)**
Dahl (R)	7,924	(50%)
Dennis (R)	**7,939**	**(50%)**

Bane may face a tough challenge some day, but not this year. As for the GOP primary, it very nearly went into overtime but Brian Dennis, a North Hollywood businessman, scored two touchdowns near the end to pull it out. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 41 (40% D - 51% R)

Nolan (R-I)	**30,653**	**(100%)**
Vollbrecht (D)	**16,921**	**(100%)**
Bennett (P&F)	**49**	**(100%)**

Minority Leader Nolan won't be challenged in this election. But he might be in December when the new Legislature convenes and a few of the grumpier members of his caucus try to exact revenge for the way his lieutenants ran amok in the primaries. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 42 (40% D - 51% R)

Mountjoy (R-I)	**31,063**	**(100%)**

Speaking of grumpy Republicans. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 43 (54% D - 36% R)

Friedman (D)	**19,105**	**(56%)**
Margolin (D)	6,672	(20%)
Woodlock (D)	8,376	(25%)
Schuyler (R)	**11,075**	**(58%)**
Steeg (R)	7,878	(42%)
Honigsfeld (P&F)	**57**	**(100%)**

This election was decided in whatever smoke-filled room the Berman-Waxman political machine met in after incumbent Gray Davis announced his candidacy for state controller. The machine dominates West Los Angeles politics, and it annointed Terry Friedman to fill Davis' penny loafers. The Republican, businessman Marc Schuyler of Tarzana, was originally recruited as cannon fodder for Davis. No change in strategy now that Friedman is the candidate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 44 (58% D - 31% R)

Hayden (D-I)	**30,570**	**(77%)**
Cota (D)	9,222	(23%)
Mundell (R)	8,944	(44%)
Stout (R)	**11,193**	**(56%)**
Donner (L)	**162**	**(100%)**
Berman (P&F)	**146**	**(100%)**

Although his battles have been less costly of late, Tom Hayden is still a lightning rod for conservative money. This year the beneficiary is businesswoman Gloria Stout of Pacific Palisades. Of course, Hayden attracts a substantial amount of money for himself as well. After all, he's married to Agnes of Gelt. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 45 (59% D - 30% R)

Margolin (D-I)	**28,331**	**(100%)**
Broderson (R)	6,092	(46%)
Olson (R)	**7,148**	**(54%)**
Meyer (L)	**134**	**(100%)**
Kushner (P&F)	**83**	**(100%)**

Margolin is home free once more. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 46 (59% D - 28% R)

Roos (D-I)	**12,041**	**(91%)**
Jones (D)	1,176	(9%)
Wright (R)	**4,534**	**(100%)**
Bates (L)	**77**	**(100%)**
O'Brien (P&F)	**59**	**(100%)**

Former fireworks tycoon W. Patrick Moriarty went to prison not long ago after pleading guilty to charges of political corruption. Throughout the Moriarty investigations, there were rumors that several politicians — including a few lawmakers — were also going to be indicted. One politician prominently mentioned as having had dealings with Moriarty is Assembly Majority Leader Mike Roos. Those indictments are still "pending." Meanwhile, Roos twists in the wind. If it's any comfort to Roos, the wind isn't strong enough for any Republican to knock him over. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 47 (83% D - 10% R)

Hughes (D-I)	**20,390**	**(100%)**
Brown (R)	**1,211**	**(66%)**
Delurgio (R)	635	(34%)

Deukmejian's coattails probably won't extend into this heavily Black, heavily Latino section of Los Angeles. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 48 (85% D - 9% R)

Waters (D-I)	**24,869**	**(100%)**
Foster (R)	**2,428**	**(100%)**
Castaneda (L)	**13**	**(100%)**

Mama Maxine can spend her time and energy helping elect son Edward in the 54th Assembly District. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 49 (73% D - 19% R)

Moore (D-I)	**35,555**	**(100%)**
Feldman (R)	2,812	(33%)
Givens (R)	**5,596**	**(67%)**
Gong (P&F)	**56**	**(100%)**

Gwen Moore rolls on. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 50 (77% D - 16% R)

Tucker (D-I)	**27,636**	**(100%)**
Wiley (R)	**4,096**	**(61%)**
Davis (R)	2,594	(39%)

A Republican suicide run. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 51 (38% D - 51% R)

Felando (R-I)	**28,573**	**(100%)**
Mercant (D)	**18,559**	**(100%)**
Dobson (L)	**145**	**(100%)**

Felando has such an easy ride, he was able to contribute about $50,000 to the Nolanista's moderate-bashing effort. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 52 (44% D - 47% R)

Hill (R-I)	**23,555**	**(100%)**
Prather (D)	**15,863**	**(100%)**

The safer the incumbent, the more prone he or she is to make mischief elsewhere. Another Nolanista, Frank Hill spent $100,000 beating up other Republicans. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 53 (60% D - 29% R)

Floyd (D-I)	**19,608**	**(100%)**
Fiola (R)	**8,856**	**(100%)**
Kramer (P&F)	**24**	**(100%)**

Colorful Dick Floyd will return to the Assembly. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

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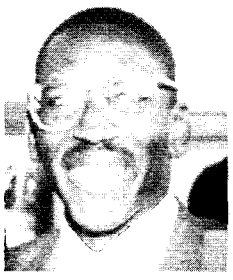
DISTRICT 54 (66% D - 26% R)

Branstine (D)	2,605	(9%)
Cochee (D)	847	(3%)
Davis (D)	4,550	(15%)
Israel (D)	421	(1%)
Murray (D)	5,867	(20%)
O'Neal (D)	2,861	(10%)
Spieller (D)	3,153	(11%)
Ward (D)	2,072	(7%)
Waters (D)	**7,559**	**(25%)**
Zeltner (R)	**10,320**	**(100%)**
Murdock (P&F)	**34**	**(100%)**

Speaker pro Tempore Frank Vicencia's retirement from the Assembly means that California will probably have its first mother-son team of lawmakers. Ed Waters walked away from a crowded field to take this Democratic primary, and that should assure him victory in November. Waters, of course, had a little help from his friends. First of all, he received about $55,000 from Speaker Willie Brown, $30,000 from the United Farm Workers and over $100,000 from mom — Assemblywoman Maxine Waters. That helped offset some $30,000 to $40,000 dumped

Zeltner



Waters

into Kent Spieller's campaign by Assemblyman Dick Floyd and Democratic state Senator Ralph Dills. There was some concern that Waters could have trouble winning in November, since only 30 percent of the district is Black. But Black candidates did very well overall in this primary, and that may force Republicans to rethink pouring a lot of money in here on behalf of Paul Zeltner, the former mayor of Lakewood. The wild card is Governor Deukmejian. He's popular with the blue-collar workers who make up this district, and if the governor wanted to expend a lot of energy here, he might be able to create some long coattails. But the governor is a practical man as well, and campaigning hard for Zeltner means beating up on Waters, who is the son of a very powerful member of the Assembly and . . . well, you get the picture. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 55 (68% D - 22% R)

Akui (D)	458	(2%)
Hernandez (D)	8,247	(38%)
Molina (D)	821	(4%)
Polanco (D)	**11,263**	**(52%)**
Williams (D)	877	(4%)
Lutz (R)	**6,604**	**(100%)**
Foster (L)	**74**	**(100%)**
Zinzun (P&F)	**73**	**(100%)**

Another fine mess. East Los Angeles is Hispanic territory where past turf battles have been fierce. This year proved no exception as factions ravaged each other over this seat being vacated by former Assemblyman Richard Alatorre, elected to the Los Angeles City Council last December. On April 8th there was a special election to replace Alatorre. To win, a candidate had to get 50 percent, plus one vote. No one did. Polanco, Alatorre's chief deputy, led the pack with 38.9 percent, followed by Hernandez with 37.3 percent. Thus, there was a run-off election at the same time as the primary. Polanco defeated the Republican candidate, Loren Lutz, and was sworn in as a member of the Assembly on June 5th. Meanwhile, Polanco got a sweep by winning the Democratic primary. Polanco had the backing of Speaker Brown, Alatorre and state Senator Art Torres, whose district includes the 55th. Hernandez, on the other hand, had the backing of Assemblywoman Gloria Molina and Congressman Ed Roybal. Bad blood, and a nasty special election campaign, provided the groundwork for an expensive primary. A glance at Polanco's list of contributors leaves no doubt that Speaker Brown turned up the heat to raise money for Polanco, giving him $68,000 from his own pocket plus marshalling money from such groups as the California Trial Lawyers Association, state employees association and a host of Democratic lawmakers. Even state Treasurer Jesse Unruh chipped in $20,000. It paid off. Polanco's first Assembly vote helped pass a prison bill out of committee, a bill supported by Brown and opposed by Molina. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 56 (78% D - 13% R)

Molina (D-I)	**10,632**	**(89%)**
Belmontez (D)	1,273	(11%)
Clark (R)	**1,151**	**(64%)**
Gamboa (R)	659	(36%)

Although her forces lost in the 55th District, Gloria Molina should win big on her home turf. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 57 (62% D - 28% R)

Elder (D-I)	**17,692**	**(100%)**
Barnes (R)	**8,911**	**(100%)**
Gundersheimer (P&F)	**38**	**(100%)**

Yawn. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 58 (41% D - 48% R)

Brown (R-I)	**30,357**	**(100%)**
Ferrall (D)	6,310	(28%)
Kincaid (D)	6,726	(30%)
Staggs (D)	**9,580**	**(42%)**
Haak (P&F)	**71**	**(100%)**

Nolanista Dennis Brown contributed nearly $100,000 to the effort to defeat other Republicans, proving his loyalty to Pat Nolan if not to the Republican Party. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 59 (64% D - 27% R)

Calderon (D-I)	**21,451**	**(100%)**
Martinez (R)	**9,177**	**(100%)**

No photo finish here for photographer Ronald Martinez, Calderon's GOP challenger. As a result Charles Calderon can dip into his campaign coffers to help fund Democratic candidates backed by Speaker Willie Brown. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 60 (61% D - 30% R)

Tanner (D-I)	**15,697**	**(100%)**
Velasco (R)	**7,469**	**(100%)**
Argall (L)	**33**	**(100%)**

Republicans for years have said that Tanner could be vulnerable to a popular Hispanic. Here's their chance to prove it with El Monte City Councilman Henry Velasco. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 61 (41% D - 48% R)

Leonard (R-I)	**29,592**	**(100%)**
Valdez (D)	**20,379**	**(100%)**
Hart (AIP)	**323**	**(100%)**

Year after year, Bill Leonard does a quiet, thoughtful job as a state assemblyman. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 62 (42% D - 49% R)

Lancaster (R-I)	**27,253**	**(100%)**
Wendt (D)	**17,086**	**(100%)**

Bill Lancaster will return for his eighth tour of the Assembly. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 63 (59% D - 33% R)

Grisham (R-I)	**14,692**	**(100%)**
Stephenson (D)	4,974	(24%)
White (D)	**16,018**	**(76%)**

This is the most Democratic district in the state represented by a Republican. Incumbent Wayne Grisham is a former congressman and solid Nolanista who, despite a tough campaign

White

Grisham

ahead, contributed $10,000 to the Fund for Bashing Moderate Republicans. Publicly, Democrats discount Norwalk Councilman Bob White's chances to upset Grisham. But privately they could be planning an ambush. Grisham has a reputation as a lazy campaigner, and if Democrats sense he's taken reelection for granted, watch them move in some heavy guns for White. Remember, only two years ago this district was represented by a Democrat — Bruce Young. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 64 (37% D - 53% R)

Johnson (R-I)	**29,793**	**(100%)**

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Dimopoulos (D)	5,225	(34%)
Lisa (D)	**10,149**	**(66%)**

Johnson contributed about $55,000 to the Nolanista's fund. He sure won't miss it when it comes to his own reelection. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 65 (43% D - 46% R)

Bader (R-I)	**21,591**	**(100%)**
Christopher (D)	5,280	(31%)
Jackson (D)	**11,982**	**(69%)**

To illustrate how fast things are moving the Republicans' way in this crazily-shaped Los Angeles County district, just three years ago, Democrats outnumbered Republicans. Jackson ran against Bader in 1984 — and lost big. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 66 (59% D - 31% R)

Eaves (D-I)	**16,283**	**(72%)**
Hobbs (D)	6,414	(28%)
Turner (R)	**11,047**	**(100%)**

Something very interesting happened in this district between January and May 1986: Republicans added 527 registered voters; Democrats lost 5174. These numbers aren't enough to elect Rialto businesswoman Carol Turner, but the trend is notable. Eaves got to the Assembly in the first place in 1984 by disregarding numbers. He knocked off an incumbent (Terry Goggin) in the primary. SAFE (for now) DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 67 (32% D - 58% R)

Lewis (R-I)	**32,735**	**(100%)**
Anderson (D)	**9,024**	**(62%)**
Hundley (D)	5,645	(39%)

Little ol' mischief-maker John Lewis is the head Nolanista, as his campaign coffers yielded about $110,000 to help defeat other Republicans. Lewis is primarily responsible for the disaster in the 22nd District and has been the center of much criticism within the Assembly Republican Caucus. To paraphrase the late General Omar Bradley, Lewis' primary strategy resulted in running the wrong candidates against the wrong opponents at the wrong time and in the wrong districts. Other than that, he did fine. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 68 (53% D - 37% R)

Clute (D-I)	**23,650**	**(100%)**
Webb (R)	**17,616**	**(100%)**
Schmidt (P&F)	**47**	**(100%)**

To quote Satchel Paige: Never look back, Mr. Assemblyman Clute, somebody might be gaining on you. Between January and May 1986,

Webb

Clute

Republicans registered 3444 new voters; Democrats lost 327. The GOP registration drive can't come as good news for Clute who won two years ago by only 5000 votes. The Republican candidate this time is part of a prominent Riverside family, but it will take an enormous amount of money to unseat Clute. A top priority for both sides; look for Clute and Webb to spend liberally. LEANS (ever so slightly) DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 69 (34% D - 54% R)

Frizzelle (R-I)	**30,708**	**(100%)**
Baldwin (D)	**15,171**	**(100%)**

A yawner for Frizzelle. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 70 (28% R - 62% R)

Ferguson (R-I)	**45,460**	**(100%)**
Gray (D)	**16,048**	**(100%)**

Ferguson, representing the most Republican Assembly district in California, ponied up a modest $20,000 for the Nolanistas. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 71 (44% D - 47% R)

Allen (R-I)	**23,642**	**(100%)**
Rosen (D)	**17,401**	**(100%)**
Weber (P&F)	**41**	**(100%)**

Democratic support in this Los Angeles and Orange County district is eroding. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 72 (50% D - 39% R)

Griset (D)	**12,218**	**(100%)**
Heaney (R)	2,334	(19%)
Longshore (R)	**9,969**	**(81%)**

Republican Dick Longshore came within 256 votes of unseating incumbent Democrat Richard Robinson in 1984, and that close call — coupled with slipping Democratic registration — caused Robinson to seek employment elsewhere. (He's running for Congress against Robert Dornan.) To keep the seat in their camp, Democrats convinced Dan Griset, the 30-ish

Longshore

Griset

mayor of Santa Ana, to run. Griset will need lots of help, for Assembly Republicans have made this district their number one priority for 1986. LEANS REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 73 (42% D - 48% R)

Kelley (R-I)	**31,552**	**(100%)**
Powell (D)	**22,655**	**(100%)**

Assemblyman Kelley is one of four members of the GOP caucus to formally protest Nolanista involvement in Republican primaries. The protest came too late for Nolanistas to recruit a primary opponent for Kelley, however. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 74 (32% D - 55% R)

Frazee (R-I)	**35,757**	**(100%)**
Ellis (L)	**116**	**(100%)**

A Democrat tried but couldn't attract the 1195 votes needed to qualify as a write-in. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 75 (34% D - 51% R)

Mojonnier (R-I)	**37,020**	**(100%)**
Lasky (D)	**1406**	**(100%)**
Murphy (L)	**248**	**(100%)**
Schoenberg (P&F)	**41**	**(100%)**

Democrat Lasky qualified as a write-in candidate. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 76 (34% D - 53% R)

Bradley (R-I)	**34,035**	**(100%)**
Keyser (D)	9,247	(47%)
White (D)	**10,582**	**(53%)**
Thornsberry (P&F)	**34**	**(100%)**

Bradley's impressive string of victories will continue. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 77 (38% D - 50% R)

Stirling (R-I)	**29,575**	**(100%)**
Smelko (D)	**20,240**	**(100%)**

Stirling has an opponent for the first time since 1980 — but not a challenge. SAFE REPUBLICAN.

DISTRICT 78 (43% D - 43% R)

Killea (D-I)	**28,945**	**(100%)**
Cantos (R)	**22,650**	**(100%)**
Shea (L)	**175**	**(100%)**
Ulmschneider (AIP)	**207**	**(100%)**

For the first time, registration in this district is now even between Republicans and Democrats. Normally, that would make a fairly safe GOP district. But Lucy Killea, a former vice

Cantos

Killea

mayor of San Diego, remains very popular with her constituency as demonstrated by her running 20 points ahead of registration two years ago. Republicans acknowledge this and are prepared to spend mightly to pry her out. Their man is Earl Cantos Jr., an attorney and son of a former judge. This will be a very expensive race. TOSS-UP.

DISTRICT 79 (58% D - 29% R)

Chacon (D-I)	**22,611**	**(100%)**
Ard (R)	**9,721**	**(100%)**
Wright (L)	**100**	**(100%)**
Wertheimer (P&F)	**44**	**(100%)**

Republicans say they have the ideal candidate to unseat Chacon — Ard, a Black minister and former president of the Black Council of Churches. Of course, Ard also was also a Jesse Jackson delegate to the 1984 Democratic National Convention in San Francisco. And this in a district with less than 30 percent GOP registration. Yes, there's a gap in logic somewhere. SAFE DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 80 (53% D - 35% R)

Peace (D-I)	**19,717**	**(100%)**
DuBose (R)	**11,788**	**(76%)**
Martin (R)	3,679	(24%)
Myrseth (L)	**39**	**(100%)**

Several observers sense voters in this district are looking for any reason to dump Peace, the producer who implanted "Attack of the Killer Tomatoes" as an enduring part of the American cultural landscape. His Republican opponent is a 23-year resident of the district who is fluent in Spanish, an important asset in this heavily Hispanic area. If local polls show he has a chance, Assembly Republicans will pour in the resources. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

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IN THE CHIPS

Who profits from the energy glut?

By NIELS ERCH

Working behind the scenes, without much press or public fanfare, California's two energy regulatory agencies are gathering their legislative forces in what appears to be a growing turf battle over California's energy future. Stakes are high in a debate that pits California's large public utilities against independent electricity producers and gas suppliers who would like to provide the state with much of its energy into the next century.

Fighting has also intensified between the California Energy Commission, which tracks energy supply and demand in the state and issues power-plant siting permits, and the California Public Utilities Commission, which sets gas and electricity prices. At issue is a single fundamental question: Should utilities generate all their own power, or can private energy project developers provide some more efficiently and at less cost to ratepayers? It's a question now being raised in several states where federal and state energy and tax policies have encouraged a flood of electricity from private sources at the same time utilities are trying to recover skyrocketing nuclear and other utility plant costs through higher rates.

In California the arguments are particularly timely. Since 1983, independent electricity producers, from mom-and-pop windmill operators to industrial giants like Dow Chemical and C&H Sugar, have either started up projects or signed firm contracts to sell more than 15,000 megawatts of electricity to Pacific Gas & Electric Company, Southern California Edison and San Diego Gas & Electric Company.

By contrast, the output of an average oil or gas-fired utility plant is about 500 megawatts, while the Diablo Canyon nuclear units together, at full power, would generate about 2200 megawatts.

All of this comes as the PUC grapples with how to price the power generated by PG&E's $5.8 billion Diablo Canyon units. When the plant was first proposed in 1968 at a projected cost of $400 million, the normal practice of allowing PG&E to pass along construction and financing costs to ratepayers seemed reasonable. But after 16 years of environmental and safety challenges and cost overruns, PG&E has requested a $332 million rate increase reflecting the cost of owning and running the plant's Unit 1 reactor in its first operating year, and another $380 million increase covering Unit 2. While PG&E has been willing to accept lesser interim rate increases, the bottom line is the same: In its first year of operation alone, Diablo Canyon will cost someone $712 million more to own and operate than the plant will save by producing cheaper electricity.

Cogeneration

That gap will narrow over time until Diablo Canyon eventually begins to save ratepayers money on electricity. But the break-even point will not come until at least the mid-1990s, even assuming PG&E gets everything it wants. "The utilities, in the very kindest words, have been living in a constant state of pass-through of costs, without any control or management of those costs," says Wayne Meek, director of energy and environmental services for San Francisco-based Simpson Paper Company.

Simpson operates a pair of cogeneration projects in conjunction with Northern California paper mills at Anderson and Fairhaven. The mills run giant gas-powered electrical turbines during working hours, using a small amount of electricity for plant needs and converting waste heat from the turbines to steam used in the manufacturing process. Nearly all of the electricity generated is gravy, for sale to PG&E.

Based on the original 36-megawatt Anderson plant's $20 million price tag in 1982, Meek contends his company could

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Niels Erch is a freelance writer from San Francisco.

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build a cogeneration plant with the output of Diablo Canyon for $600 million. Such a plant could be built and running within three years and the construction cost would, in theory, be borne by the developer and by the industrial customer. It would pay for itself through a combination of increased efficiency for the manufacturer and electricity sales for the developer.

If the genie of independent power is let out of the bottle — and many contend it has been already — the end result could be a totally deregulated utility industry in which PG&E, Edison and SDG&E would become transmission and distribution systems. Rather than continuing to build new gas-fired, coal and nuclear plants to generate their own electricity, they would buy power from private industrial energy producers in California as well as from out-of-state utility sources in the Northwest and in the Sunbelt.

The scenario envisions a vast network of solar collectors in the Mojave Desert, geyser and dam projects in the Sierra foothills, Altamont Pass wind farms and Kern County oil field cogeneration projects, all hooking up to utility transmission lines and displacing less-efficient utility plant power into the 1990s and beyond. And instead of the utilities themselves signing huge long-term gas contracts with Southwest or Alaska producers and then supplying California under an exclusive franchise, industrial users could buy natural gas from anyone and ship it door-to-door throughout California via utility-owned pipelines.

CEC vs. PUC

At first glance, the Capitol power struggle appears largely partisan, with holdovers from the Brown administration dominating the Public Utilities Commission and squaring off against a new, aggressive Energy Commission made up mostly of Deukmejian appointees that include Chairman Charles Imbrecht, a moderate Republican and former Ventura County assemblyman.

But things aren't that simple.

The PUC, under chairman Donald Vial, is working on a market-based pricing structure that will allow independent producers — known in the industry as "qualifying facilities," or QFs — to supply as much of California's electricity as the traffic will bear, as long as they can provide it more cheaply than the utilities.

Imbrecht, meanwhile, wants the Energy Commission, through its siting policies, to guarantee a diversified mix of energy sources in the state. In recent months, toward that end, the CEC has performed its own pricing analyses and submitted them in PUC proceedings. It has also sought greater authority to restrict development of QF projects, favoring instead utility long-term contract purchases of Northwest hydroelectric power from British Columbia and from the federally-owned Bonneville Power Administration.

The CEC has even intervened on the behalf of utilities in negotiations with Bonneville, on the one hand restricting site permits for a number of private California energy projects to make room for Northwest power, and on the other threatening Bonneville with allowing those projects to go forward if it won't lower its prices to PG&E and Edison.

"The Energy Commission is sending a message that they're concerned about oversupply, they're concerned about people paying too much," says PUC Commissioner Victor Calvo. "But where the PUC says let's refine and develop a program that's market-based, the Energy Commission is saying it wants to develop a program of regulation."

Imbrecht insists there is no turf battle going on. The problem, he says, is that PUC rate policies that were reasonable in 1983 have in 1986 resulted in "projects that force power into the system 24-hours-a-day, whether the system or the citizens of the state need it or not."

Independent power as an industry in California got its start from a 1978 federal law, the Public Utilities Regulatory Policies Act (PURPA). Enacted as a conservation measure when oil and gas prices were high, the act was also intended to encourage alternative energy production. It required a utility to buy surplus power from qualifying facilities when offered, reduce the power output of its least-efficient plant accordingly, and pay the QF the "avoided cost" saved in fuel and operation.

Once PURPA was in place, the solar, wind and other non-fossil fuel projects thrived. Rising oil and gas prices at the time meant rising avoided cost payments, while operating costs stayed minimal. But as oil and gas prices started to dive in 1982, the bottom fell out of the market and banks lost interest in alternative energy.

To keep the program alive, the PUC adopted in late 1983 a standard long-term contract for the industry that enabled producers to lock in prices for their power for 10 years, a guarantee that once again made financing attractive. This friendly boost for solar and wind was a windfall for cogeneration projects: As their gas costs to run the turbines fell, earnings — based in part on the price of gas — were stabilized under contract. With those economics, the bigger a project, the better. And PURPA required utilities to sign them up.

In an 18-month period, projects with combined generating potential of 13,000 megawatts were proposed to utilities. A growing number were cogeneration plants, some now exceeding 300 megawatts in size. And since the long-term contracts didn't lower prices in the event of an oversupply, more developers with bigger projects kept on coming.

The last straw was a series of four cogeneration projects proposed by General Electric Corporation in connection with Texaco and Mobile oil field production in Kern and Monterey

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Counties. At a cost of about $1.3 billion, GE planned to install turbines at three drilling sites, where waste heat would be converted to steam and injected into low-pressure wells to loosen thick deposits of heavy crude oil — a process known as enhanced oil recovery (EOR). The electricity would be surplus for sale to PG&E.

It was a lot of electricity. By 1989 GE would routinely supply PG&E with 2700 megawatts, nearly 25 percent more than Diablo Canyon's output. Down the road GE saw potential in California oil recovery cogeneration for 6000 megawatts — an amount that would have swamped PG&E and Edison transmission lines and made the Albany, New York, company the third largest producer and seller of electrical power in California, right behind those two utilities.

The news got worse. The volume of gas GE required to run its turbines for a continuous flow of steam — 200 million cubic feet a day — was enough to economically justify running a private pipeline into California. For the first time, a large industrial producer could force PG&E to buy its electricity while it shopped in an open market for cheaper gas.

"It's important to realize," says PG&E attorney Michael Hindus, who represents the utility on ratemaking and QF matters, "that the situation has changed from one of dealing with idealistic young entrepreneurs and environmentalists to dealing with some very big players who don't necessarily need to be protected from the big bad utility." Hindus adds that of the 30 largest developers signed up to sell independent power to PG&E, 29 are *Fortune* 500 companies, most of them larger than PG&E and most are in oil field cogeneration.

The PUC was worried, too. If large industrial gas users bolted the utility system, the fixed costs of that system — salaries, maintenance, debt, contracts with suppliers — would be foisted more and more onto those who could afford it least — the residential ratepayers. In the summer of 1984, while talks were still under way between PG&E and General Electric, the Energy Commission declared that, according to its forecasts, California utilities had signed up all of the power they could absorb through 1995. By April of last year, the PUC had phased out its long-term contract prices altogether.

In a concession to Kern County oil-recovery cogeneration projects, however, the PUC last August passed on most of a $316 million rate reduction — reflecting lower market prices for gas — to industry. And this year the commission ruled that gas customers could buy from outside suppliers and move it into California via utility pipelines.

At this stage the CEC and PUC are trying to determine how much reliable independent power is truly available, whether it can economically and efficiently displace new utility plants and how to price it.

Not all of the 15,000 megawatts under contract to PG&E, Edison and SDG&E is expected to actually be developed, for example. "Some of these projects are for the same site, so you know at least some of them aren't going to go," says William Ahern, public staff director of the PUC, "but whether it's ten percent or two-thirds we don't know."

Dicey predictions

Loss of tax credits will likely force some solar and wind producers out of the market. Falling oil prices have cut back enhanced oil recovery production, taking cogeneration with it. Cogeneration projects without long-term price guarantees have seen their earnings fall faster than the cost of their gas. As a result, the utilities and the CEC acknowledge that perhaps only 60 percent of the contract projects are viable. The Independent Energy Producers places the figure closer

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to 30 percent.

Predictions about California's future electricity demand are just as dicey. The Energy Commission's 1984 estimates of oversupply were based on demand forecast data collected during the 1982 recession. Those numbers, which pointed to an average 2 percent annual demand growth, have fallen short by as much as 1500 megawatts in each of the last two years.

The commission has also revised downward an earlier estimate that California's four nuclear plants — Diablo Canyon, San Onofre, Rancho Seco and Sundesert — will operate at 80 percent power in the foreseeable future. Frequent shutdowns for safety checks and repairs have resulted in a 45 percent average in recent years and the CEC now predicts it will level off at 60 percent. Finally, Northwest utilities selling seasonal surplus hydroelectric power to California have tripled their prices since 1980, while threatening to curtail supplies.

Still, Imbrecht insists California is the logical buyer for 5000 megawatts of surplus hydro power from the Northwest during the next 20 years, and contends that "by any yardstick we've got two to two-and-a-half times more QFs with signed contracts than we need with any demand forecast you want to use."

Independents respond that Imbrecht's oversupply claims in California are designed to help the utilities bargain down the price of Northwest power, and that the gamble is really about politics. "Imbrecht wants to be a hero," complained one. "He wants to be the knight on a white horse delivering all of this cheap power for his governor in an election year."

Real or engineered, the notion of oversupply has hit most of the 350 QF projects already operating, whose earnings aren't protected under long-term contract. Those so-called "pioneer" projects, like Simpson Paper, were not allowed to switch to long- term contracts in 1983 and are paid according to a combination of need and the avoided cost of fuel — both of which are falling.

Perhaps the most critical debate, however, is now taking place in PUC proceedings aimed at developing a new and permanent long-term contract price formula. While it has been generally accepted, for example, that 500 megawatts of independent power under long-term contract should eliminate the need for a utility coal plant in the 1990s, utilities now argue that the QFs supplying that power must act exactly like a utility plant in order to displace it.

They have asked the PUC to impose tough new performance standards requiring backup power, auxiliary power to move other electricity through transmission lines, and the ability to boost power during peak periods and cut back during non-peak hours. Even more controversial is a proposal that would force future projects to bid against one another to provide low-cost power when more power is offered than a utility needs.

While independents agree on the idea of operating flexibility, they charge that requiring every QF to provide the entire list of flexibility features — plus having QFs bid against one another without opening up the market entirely and making utility plants compete on efficiency as well — will narrow the QF market considerably and is evidence of a siege mentality that could be dangerous for California.

"You could have an undersupply of power in the 1990s, and this industry is the only one that can come on in such a short lead time and provide the electricity," says Jan Hamrin of the Independent Energy Producers Association. "You cannot turn these projects off entirely, say for five years, and come back when we need the power."

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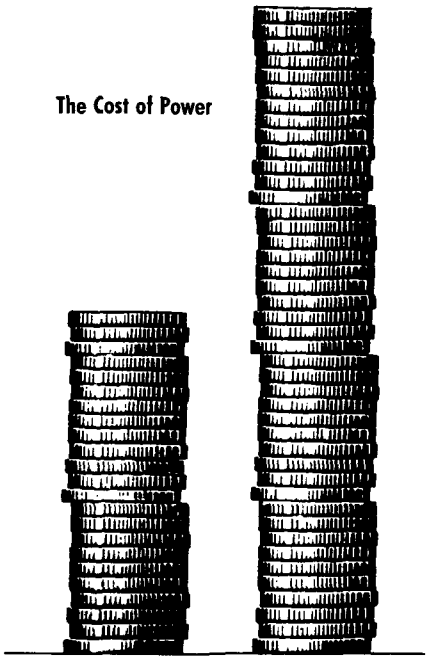

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Falling oil prices depress Kern County economy

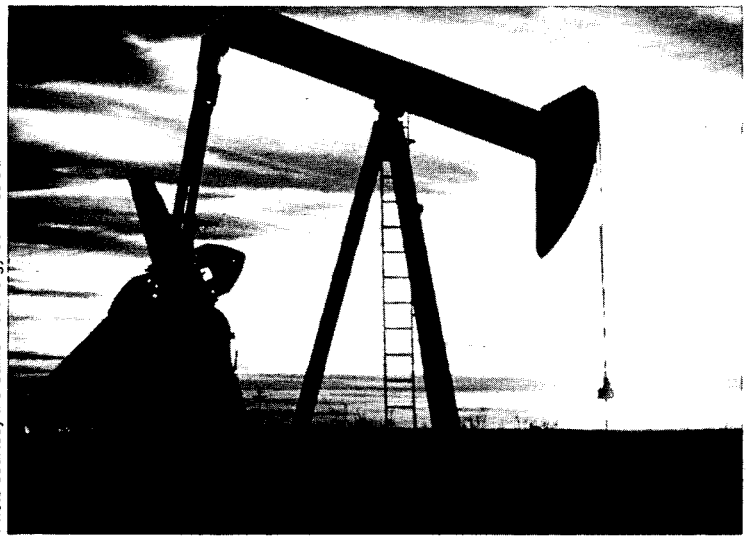

Photo courtesy the California Energy Commission

By BRUCE SCHEIDT

These are humbling times in Kern County. Collapsing oil prices have transformed upbeat economic thinking into a distressing new fact of life in the state's oil patch: Kern, the nation's most petroleum-rich county, is not recession-proof. Recent oil shocks, compounded by the hard-pressed farm economy, have given Kern's Chamber of Commerce image-builders and beleaguered work force a new-found feeling of vulnerability.

"There are people who lost jobs who have never had to go down to the unemployment office before," says Kern County Supervisor Trice Harvey, a Republican candidate for Assembly. "It's tough right now."

Kern's unemployment rate in April was 12.7 percent, way above the 6.9 percent statewide. About 5300 oilfield jobs have been lost since February, a rate of about 350 per week.

Kern accounts for nearly two of every three barrels of oil produced in California, and its economy is extremely sensitive to falling oil prices. The current crisis has idled 93 oil rigs — nearly three of every four available — and shut in 5000 wells in the county. Most of those are the so-called "stripper wells," which individually produce fewer than 10 barrels per day but collectively account for 10 percent of Kern's supply. While the Persian Gulf's light crude can be pumped for less than $5 per barrel, Kern's heavy-to-lift oil can cost upwards of three times that amount. As prices in April dropped to $8.75 per barrel for Kern River crude — it was more than $20 in January — oilmen decided it was more economical to leave it in the ground. If most of those wells close, Kern could lose much of its reserves for good.

"What really has people scared is the suddenness of it, the completeness," says Bakersfield-based oil journalist and author Bill Rintoul.

Bruce Scheidt is a Capitol correspondent for the Bakersfield Californian.

While California's oil industry faces tough times, three consortiums with competing plans to build an interstate pipeline to feed natural gas to Kern's oil fields are proceeding as if nothing's happened. Despite the price plunge, Kern's oil fields represent possibly the best market for natural gas in the country. The natural gas is needed to generate steam to recover Kern's thick, syrup-like heavy crude.

"It's no skin off our nose if they're not producing in 1986," says Ross Workman, president of Houston-based Mojave Pipeline Operating Company, one of three consortiums. "The oil will still be in the ground in 1990."

Ironically, Workman says cheap oil in the short term means there will be more oil in the ground when the pipeline can be operational in 1990 at the earliest — to the benefit of natural gas suppliers.

Large Stakes

Millions of investment dollars are at stake in the competition for the pipeline. Oil companies generally prefer an interstate pipeline to transport their own natural gas to Kern's oil fields because it would give them uninterruptible service. An interstate pipeline would not be regulated by the California Public Utilities Commission, which has ruled that residences and small businesses have priority in case of natural gas shortages.

The PUC and the state's two major natural gas suppliers, Pacific Gas & Electric and Southern California Gas, oppose the pipeline. To head it off, the PUC has permitted the two utilities to transport natural gas belonging to oil companies at a cheaper rate than they sell to other customers.

The oil slide has also hurt California's offshore oil operations, which in turn has cut deeply into the state's tidelands account, the money which pays for expansion of universities, prisons and hospitals and other capital outlay projects. Governor George Deukmejian based the capital outlay budget in his proposed 1986-87 spending document on $425 million flowing into the tidelands account; now it looks like the fund will have less than $100 million.

The administration has proposed major cuts in higher education construction and is looking at new revenue-bonding authority to replace the offshore oil money. In any event, Finance Director Jesse Huff is not overly worried. "We're not leaving any holes in the ground," Huff says. "We're not halting anything in mid-construction."

Huff is sanguine about the effect falling oil prices have on this state's overall economy. "There are a lot of people who have or will have a little more money in their pocket, at least for a while," Huff says. "A drop in the oil prices is almost as good as a tax cut for the economy."

The price decline also means it will cost less to buy fuel for state cars and asphalt for roads and highways, the budget director points out.

Oilmen say that kind of thinking is short-sighted because of the risks ahead. "What's bad about this is that the oil industry in this country could be dismantled," warns Claude Fiddler, Chevron's Northern California business manager in Bakersfield. "You may be fat now, but you'll be paying more in the long term, only then it may be to OPEC or another foreign country."

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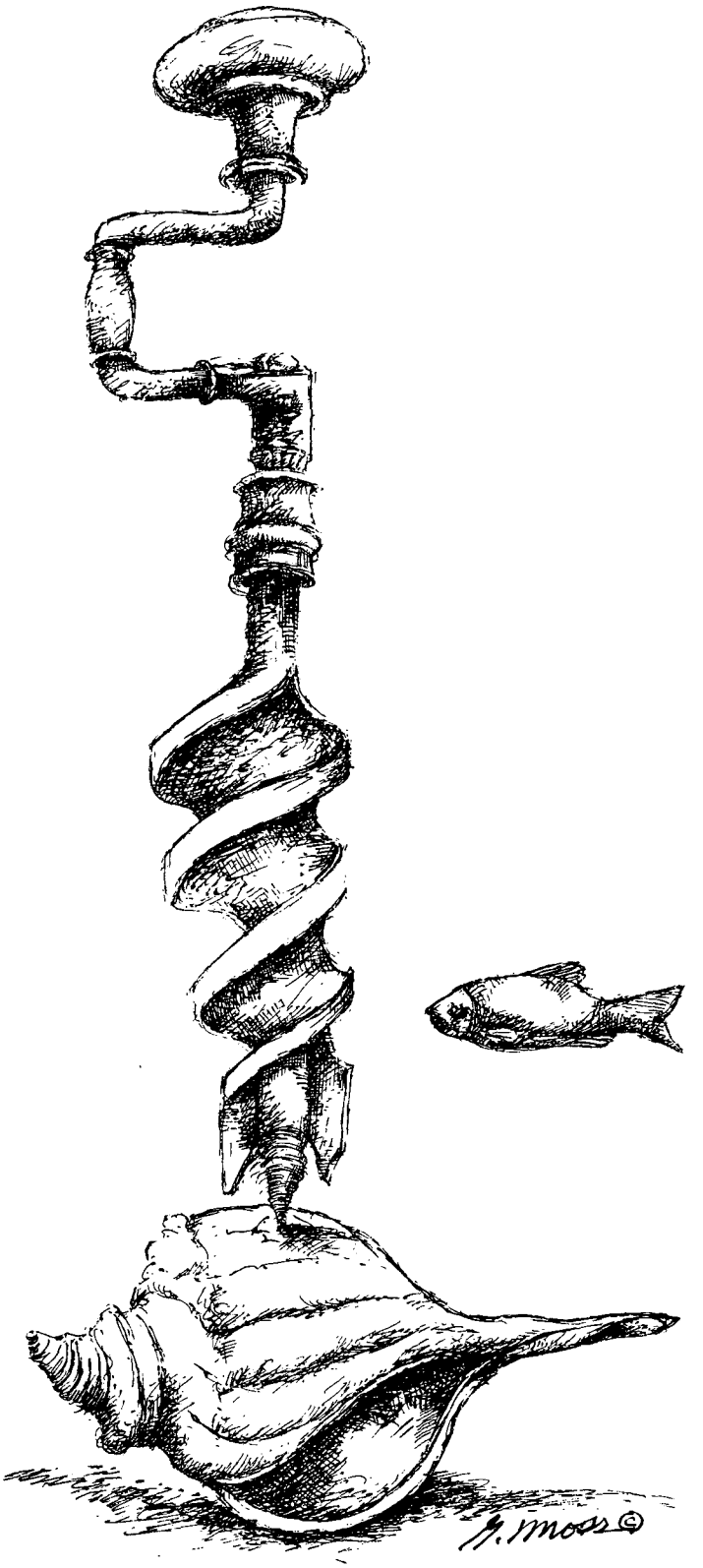
DID DEUKMEJIAN BOTCH IT?

Feds, state at odds over offshore oil drilling



By JEFF RAIMUNDO

In 1969 an oil well drilled into the seabed suffered a "blowout" that sent a massive oil slick oozing over 800 square miles of Pacific Ocean, killing seals, birds and other marine life, fouling beaches for miles along the scenic Santa Barbara coast and triggering voter approval of California's landmark 1972 coastal protection initiative.

Today, lingering anger and fear among state residents over that tragedy — and a score of similar, although less severe, incidents since then — have fueled one of the most emotional, intense and nagging political controversies to plague George Deukmejian's governorship.

Recent public-opinion surveys show that the state's voters generally praise Deukmejian's stewardship of state government. Yet many coastal residents and elected officials, environmentalists and members of the state's congressional delegation, including some key leaders in his own Republican Party, feel the governor has mismanaged the state's response to Reagan administration plans to open up vast stretches of the coastline to new oil drilling.

Some say Deukmejian has been naive in his dealings with a Department of Interior bent on developing new domestic oil fields. And they say he has misread public opinion in cutting the California Coastal Commission's budget three years in a row before providing a modest increase this election year.

Sensing a political opening because of coastal California's growing unease with Deukmejian on the issue, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, the governor's Democratic opponent in the November general election, has begun a regular and sharp attack on Deukmejian's coastal policies. Bradley delights in calling the governor "the Duke of Oil" and "a straight-A student in the James Watt school of environmental protection" — the latter a reference to President Reagan's outspoken, pro-development interior secretary during most of his first term.

A change in emphasis

Deukmejian retorts that he is being subjected to partisan attacks by Democrats, particularly by his opponent in this governor's race, and that he has long favored coastal protections, with drilling rights meted out on a careful, case-by-case basis that gives the state's most scenic areas strong protections. Turning the tables on Bradley, Deukmejian's re-election campaign officials point out that the Los Angeles

Jeff Raimundo is deputy Capitol Bureau Chief for the Sacramento Bee.

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mayor has himself supported beach-side drilling in Pacific Palisades.

Even Deukmejian recognizes the political peril he faces because of his tolerance of offshore drilling, however. In recent weeks he has changed the tone of his rhetoric, becoming much more critical in public of the Reagan administration's drilling plans. But his critics say the governor now is complaining about a problem he helped create in the first place when he helped scuttle a four-year-old, congressionally-imposed moratorium on new oil and gas development off the California coast. They remain unmoved by his new public pronouncements.

Late last year the governor abandoned what many felt had been a benign, hands-off attitude on the issue. While Deukmejian had always been opposed to the moratorium, says Democratic Representative Leon Panetta of Carmel Valley, the governor had left matters largely to the California Coastal Commission, the congressional delegation and the state attorney general — all of whom supported the moratorium.

But in a speech last November to a meeting of the American Petroleum Institute, Deukmejian began to assert more forcefully his opposition to "a blanket moratorium on the development of our offshore resources." He said the nation's need for energy independence and California's estimated two billion to 10 billion barrels of untapped offshore oil dictated that "the prudent, environmentally safe development of known reserves must go forward." He insisted the record in two recent federal oil-lease sales off the California coast, which included "unprecedented environmental protections," shows that safe drilling can occur. And he said his recent appointees to the Coastal Commission and other agencies "will continue to reflect this balanced approach."

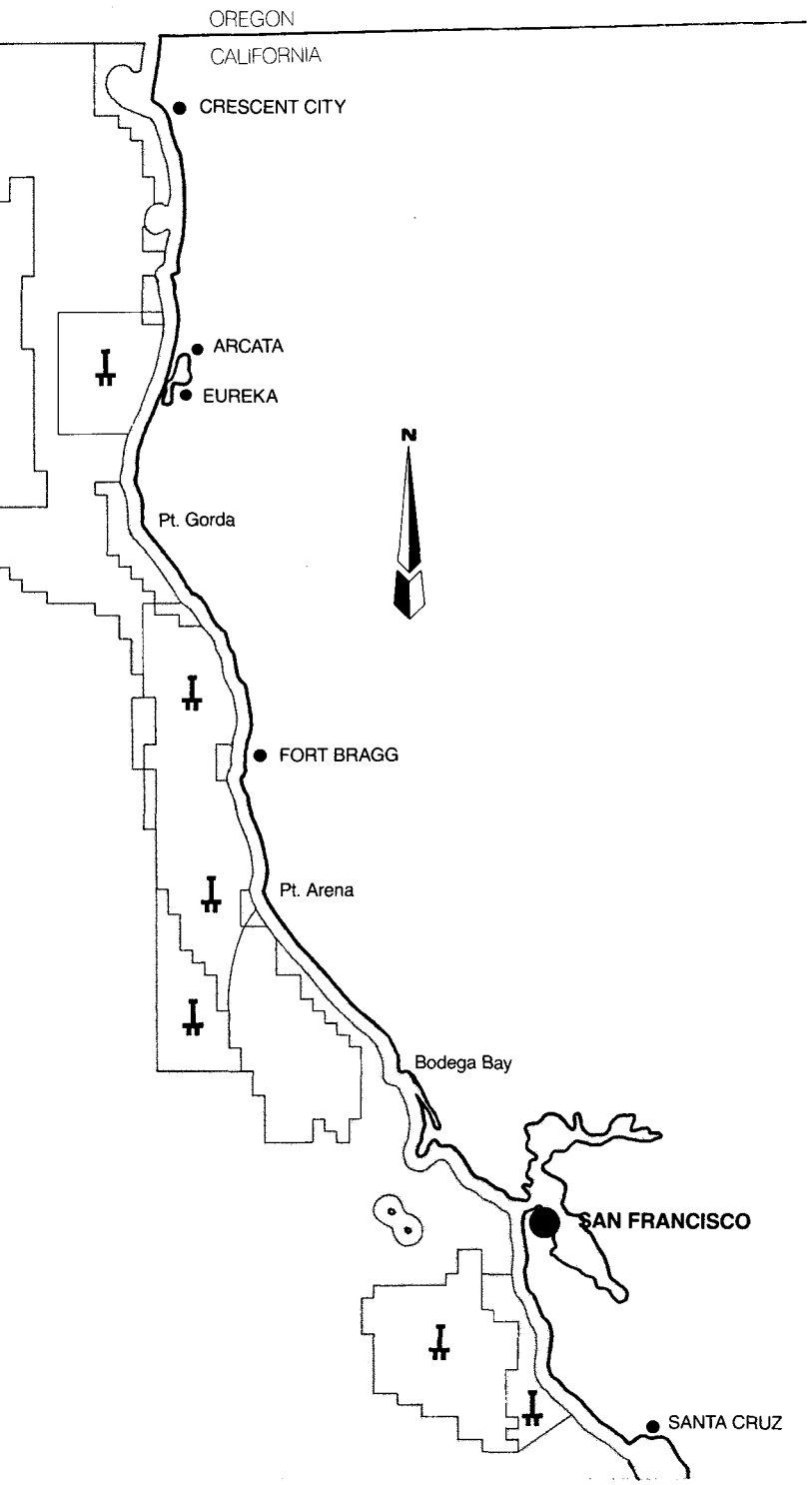
A few days later, Deukmejian sent a last-minute letter to a key congressional subcommittee reemphasizing his opposition to continuation of the moratorium. Congressional forces on both sides of the debate said his letter was the key factor in the panel's decision, by one vote, to scuttle the ban that had kept the oil-development plans of first Watt and then current Interior Secretary Donald Hodel in check. Those who have had to deal with Hodel agree the year-to-year moratorium provided the state its only bargaining chip in negotiations with the Reagan administration over areas to be opened to new mineral exploration.

"I obviously wish he hadn't sent that letter, because I think the moratorium was the best hope we have for maintaining the leverage we need to complete meaningful negotiations with the federal government," says California's Republican Senator Pete Wilson.

Republican Congressman Bill Lowery of San Diego agrees with Deukmejian that a moratorium "is a meat-axe approach, no question. But without it, what weapons do you have?"

Within weeks even Deukmejian was forced to protest the speed with which Interior Secretary Hodel, no longer bound by the drilling ban, leaped to write a new five-year plan for awarding oil-exploration rights along much of the coast. The governor appeared caught off guard and again was put on the defensive.

He fired off an angry letter to Hodel in early February, accusing him of a "breach of faith" in pushing ahead so quickly with plans to begin the process of awarding new drilling leases even though state and local officials, including the governor, had not yet been consulted. Deukmejian said he opposed the environmentalist-sponsored moratorium because it was an effort "to take shortcuts and circumvent the established rules. . . . For similar reasons, I must now express my opposition to (Hodel's call for proposals from oil companies) . . . which I believe also shortcuts and circumvents the congressionally-established process for managing offshore resources."



Falling flat

In early May, Deukmejian called for deletion of three-fourths of the huge area proposed for oil exploration under Hodel's new five-year plan. He took no position on the other quarter of the proposed exploration tracts because, he said, not enough information had been developed on them. But he criticized the federal plan for failing to address "all the legitimate environmental and economic concerns of California and our coastal local governments." He added that for those areas that eventually are offered for lease, "I expect and must insist, as I have in the past, that all necessary environmental safeguards are in place to ensure that California's coast is

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protected."

The governor's long-awaited response to Hodel again fell flat with his critics. While he called for a ban on all drilling in an important sea otter range along the central California coast and in the Santa Monica Bay area, most of his recommended deletions lie far offshore, in deep water where even the oil companies don't really want to drill. The rest of the governor's proposal still favors the oil companies and threatens ecologically sensitive areas, his critics contended. "He's cut the fat out of the plan and given the oil companies the meat," said Assemblyman Sam Farr, a Carmel Democrat.

"It's a very good attempt to whistle past the graveyard (until after) the November election," added Warner Chabot, a Marin County planner and staff aide to a group of coastal local officials opposed to offshore drilling.

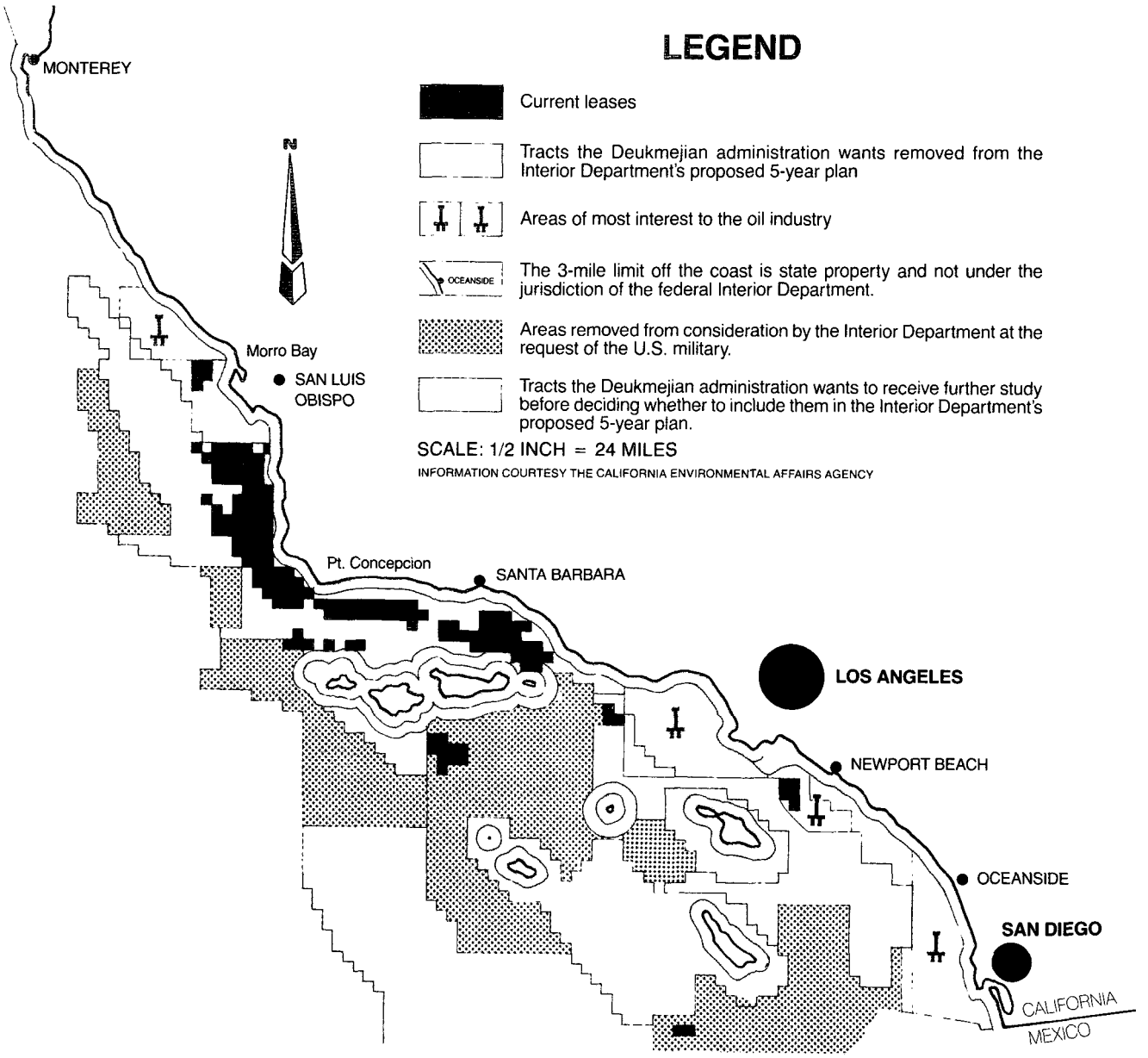
Deukmejian's critics say he has a Pollyannaish view of state-federal relationships that makes him an ineffective player in the hard bargaining over offshore oil drilling. Even Republicans such as Wilson and Lowery suggest the governor should not have been surprised that Hodel would step through the breach once the moratorium was lifted.

"His outburst at Hodel indicates surprise and indicates, I assume, that he feels somewhat betrayed," Wilson says. "He has come to some understanding of what those of us who must negotiate have been up against in dealing with the Department of Interior."

Adds Lowery: "I didn't support the moratorium at first but after trying to negotiate with Jim Watt, I found it was like trying to talk to a wall. Their enthusiasm (for aggressive oil exploration) has not diminished. (The Deukmejian administration) thought they had considerable influence with Interior. In reality they have very little. I think the governor is sadly reaching the same conclusion that many of the rest of us who deal with Interior came to long ago."

They and most Californians in Congress still lament what they feel was a double-cross by Hodel on a compromise drilling agreement reached last summer. Facing the threat of another one-year extension of the drilling ban, Hodel struck a bargain with the California congressional delegation that would have prohibited new exploration along most of the coast in exchange for a permanent end to the moratorium and the granting of new drilling rights on 150 offshore tracts.

Continued on page 362


LEGEND
Current leases
Tracts the Deukmejian administration wants removed from the Interior Department's proposed 5-year plan
Areas of most interest to the oil industry
OCEANSIDE
The 3-mile limit off the coast is state property and not under the jurisdiction of the federal Interior Department.
Areas removed from consideration by the Interior Department at the request of the U.S. military.
Tracts the Deukmejian administration wants to receive further study before deciding whether to include them in the Interior Department's proposed 5-year plan.
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But while Deukmejian remained silent, oil companies loudly protested the plan and Hodel unilaterally broke the agreement six weeks later. He said the compromise "doesn't even come close to striking a balance or being in the national interest" and added that he had agreed to lease "the wrong tracts."

A new round of negotiations between the congressional representatives and Hodel have gotten nowhere so far. Hodel has said he will proceed with the next lease sales whether he reaches a new compromise with the California delegation or not. And with emotions still charged, the state's lawmakers are proceeding with plans to try to reimpose the moratorium.

Panetta says the governor's early low-key approach, then his public opposition to the moratorium and now his anger at the Reagan administration's drilling plans lead "most of the people along the coast to feel Deukmejian has flip-flopped." Deukmejian's aides insist the governor is consistent when he demands that both sides abide by the rules. He wants coastal protection forces to work within the law and not resort to congressionally-imposed drilling bans to get their way, says spokesman Kevin Brett. And the governor wants the Interior Department to consider the fears and demands of coastal residents before carefully selecting suitable sites for new oil wells to help ensure America's energy independence.

"That was his position in 1982 and he was elected on that basis," says Brett. "That was his position when he sent the letter to the committee last November, that was his position when he sent his letter to Secretary Hodel in February and that is his position now."

The governor has threatened to file suit to block the new five-year plan if Hodel doesn't temper it sufficiently to meet the state's concerns. Wilson says Deukmejian "is more hopeful than I am" that California could prevail in any such lawsuit, noting that courts in recent years have tended to support the federal government rather than the states in such disputes.

The governor also tried to strengthen his position recently by meeting with public officials and private citizens from coastal communities on both sides of the issue. It took them two years of trying to convene the session, but those who attended said they came away convinced Deukmejian is concerned about maintaining environmental protections as new drilling rights are granted. "The meeting was very positive," said Norman de Vall, a Mendocino County supervisor who has been a vocal critic of the governor because of Deukmejian's offshore policies.

However, several local officials excluded from the closed-door session complained that the representatives who did attend constituted "a stacked deck." While participants were split equally between pro-drilling and anti-drilling representatives, the critics said, the population along the coast is overwhelmingly against new oil exploration.

Lowery, among others, agrees. Although Deukmejian says he finds opinion evenly divided on the issue, public-opinion polls and the testimony of coastal residents and representatives suggest otherwise, says Lowery. In San Diego, he points out, a Republican county dominated by Republican elected leaders from City Hall to Congress, "there is not one government official who has come out in favor of offshore drilling."

In a recent advisory election in Hermosa Beach, local voters overwhelmingly declared their opposition to new offshore drilling. Whether the opinion is widespread or deep enough statewide to affect the outcome of the November election is unclear. But by bringing his viewpoint so visibly before the public, Deukmejian has created at least one issue that will certainly figure in the minds of thousands of coastal residents when they go to the polls November 4th.

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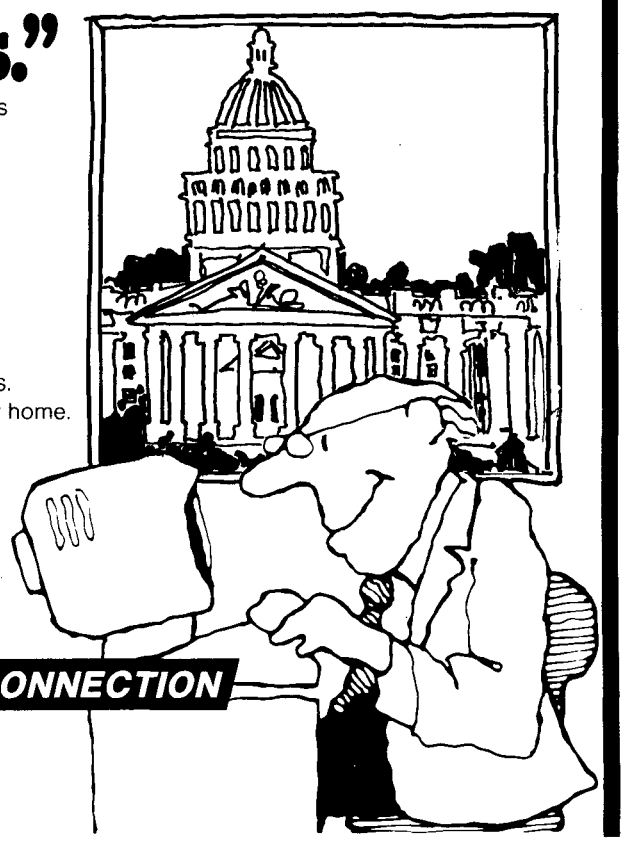

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BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 393,835 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 630,136. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. (Regardless of the constitutional deadline, sponsors should have submitted signatures by the end of May for an initiative to be placed on the November 1986 ballot.)*

Continuing in circulation:

MOTOR VEHICLE LIABILITY INSURANCE — an initiative statute, sponsored by Adam Burton of Los Angeles. (June 26th, March 1986)

SECOND DEGREE MURDER SENTENCES — an initiative statute, sponsored by James B. Roufs of San Luis Obispo. (July 7th, March 1986)

CANNABIS CONTROL ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Barton G. Gilbert of Burbank. (July 14th, April 1986)

STAR WARS — an initiative statute, sponsored by William Flannery of North Hollywood. (July 21st, April 1986)

BEVERAGE CONTAINERS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Bill Shireman of Sacramento. (July 21st, April 1986)

OPEN PRIMARY ELECTIONS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Cynthia Trania and Joseph Gattuso from the San Francisco Bay area. (August 1st, April 1986)

ABORTION — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Susan Sassone of the Santa Ana-based group "Choose Life." (August 18th, May 1986)

GAMBLING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gerald Ronnebeck of Adelanto. (August 18th, May 1986)

Petitions submitted:

MALPRACTICE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Dr. Russell S. Kussman of Los Angeles. (May 1st; January 1986)

AIDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Khushro Ghandi and Brian Lantz of Los Angeles. (May 22nd, February 1986)

OFFICIAL STATE LANGUAGE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Stanley Diamond, Carol Strayer and former U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa of San Francisco. (June 2nd, February 1986)

TOXIC DISCHARGES, DRINKING WATER — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic Assemblymen Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento and Gray Davis of Los Angeles, Democratic state Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles, David Roe of the Environmental Defense Fund and Carl Pope of the League of Conservation Voters. (July 25th, April 1986)

CAMPAIGN SPENDING — an initiative statute, sponsored by Walter Gerken of Corona del Mar. (August 1st, April 1986)

Failed to qualify:

DEATH PENALTY — an initiative statute, sponsored by GOP Assemblyman Ross Johnson of Fullerton. (May 19th, February 1986)

FIREARMS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Carl Murphy, Bernadine Smith and Richard Deming of Hanford. (June 2nd, February 1986)

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ROLL CALL

ASSEMBLY

PATIENT DUMPING

AB 3403 (Margolin) Would make hospital administrators liable for fines and jail sentences if they "dump" critical patients on another institution. The hospital's accreditation could also be put in jeopardy. It is illegal for hospital officials to refuse emergency treatment to someone who can't prove they can pay, but some hospitals reportedly refer indigent patients elsewhere as a matter of routine. Opponents say Southern California hospitals see many such patients who come across the border for emergency treatment, and the state has been unwilling to help reimburse the hospitals for such care. Passed June 9th, 42-31.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Campbell, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Polanco, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vicencia, Maxine Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Bader, Filante

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Chacon, Peace, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Baker, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Willie Brown, Calderon, Hughes, Vasconcellos

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Johnson, Mountjoy, Naylor

OFFICE OF WATER MARKETING

AB 3357 (Isenberg) Would require the Department of Water Resources to set up an Office of Water Marketing to assist growers and irrigation districts in selling surplus water. Passed June 9th, 47-26.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Campbell, Chacon, Connelly, Cortese, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Polanco, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Filante, Frazee, Konnyu, Leonard, Naylor

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Clute, Condit, Costa, Peace

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Bader, Baker, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Willie Brown, Calderon

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Johnson, LaFollette, Lancaster, Mountjoy, Wyman

PHYSICIAN DISCLOSURE

AB 4169 (Bane) Would require doctors to inform insurance companies of any financial interest they have in clinical labs, physical therapy centers, radiology labs and health clubs to which they refer patients. Passed June 9th, 48-27.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Polanco, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Filante, Lancaster, Leonard, Sebastiani

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Willie Brown, Calderon, Molina

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Johnson, Mountjoy

JUDGES' RETIREMENT

AB 2208 (Elder) Amends the Judges' Retirement Law. Passed May 19th, 70-0. Signed by the governor.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Areias, Bane, Bates, Willie Brown, Calderon, Cambell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Costa, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Baker, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Frazee, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, McClintock, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: None

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Bronzan, Cortese, Davis, Maxine Waters

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Bader, Filante, Frizzelle, Lewis, Mojonnier

DRINK-CONTAINER RECYLING

AB 2020 (Margolin) Would set up a statewide program for recycling beer and soft drink containers, offering at least a penny bounty for containers returned for recycling. The Assembly set aside the bill for two-house negotiations after rejecting Senate amendments May 1st on a 2-69 vote.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Margolin

REPUBLICANS FOR: Konnyu

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Agnos, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, McAlister, Molina, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bradley, Felando, Ferguson, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Jones, Kelley, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Calderon, Connelly, Cortese, Floyd, Moore, Robinson

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Dennis Brown, Johnson

PUBLIC MEETINGS

AB 2674 (Connelly) Requires local government agencies to notify the public of their meetings 72 hours beforehand, instead of the current 24 hours. The bill would strengthen the Ralph M. Brown Act which requires most meetings of local agencies to be open to the public. Passed April 14th, 69-4.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Tanner, Tucker, Vicencia, Maxine Waters, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Baker, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, LaFollette, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wyman

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Isenberg, Sher

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Lancaster, Wright

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Johnston, Vasconcellos

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REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Bader, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor

VICTIMS B LL OF RIGHTS

AB 2049 (Katz) Reinstates a portion of the 1982 "victims bill of rights" struck down by the California Supreme Court. Proposition 8 required judges to impose an additional five-year term on any convicted criminal who had been jailed previously for such felonies as rape, child molestation or murder. But the court subsequently ruled that judges had the option of not considering previous convictions when sentencing. The bill removes the judges' discretion. Passed April 28th, 69-0 (concurrence vote). Signed by the governor.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Areias, Bane, Bronzan, Willie Brown, Calderon, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Duffy, Eaves, Elder, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Klehs, McAlister, Molina, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vicencia, Norman Waters

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bradley, Dennis Brown, Felando, Ferguson, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Grisham, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, LaFollette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: None

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Bates, Campbell, Davis, Farr, Killea, Margolin, Vasconcellos, Maxine Waters

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Konnyu, Naylor

SENATE

PARENTAL CONSENT

AB 2459 (McAlister) Would require pregnant minors to get parental consent or a court's permission to have an abortion. The bill is an amended version of a bill by state Senator Joseph Montoya that was stalled in Assembly committee after backers failed to force a floor vote last month. Backers of the amended bill claim it should go straight to the Assembly floor for a concurrence vote, thus bypassing Assembly committees. Opponents say the measure will be unworkable for pregnant minors who have problems communicating with their parents and will result in more illegal abortions. Passed June 9th, 21-10.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Ayala, Boatwright, Deddeh, Foran, Bill Greene, Montoya, Presley, Roberti, Vuich

REPUBLICANS FOR: Bergeson, Beverly, Campbell, Carpenter, Craven, Davis, Doolittle, Ellis, Maddy, Nielsen, Russell, Seymour

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Alquist, Dills, Garamendi, Leroy Greene, Hart, Keene, Marks, Petris, Rosenthal

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Morgan

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Robbins, Stiern, Torres, Watson

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Richardson, Royce

CHILD SUPPORT

AB 2065 (Morgan) Requires child suport to continue past age 18 for unmarried children of divorced parents who go to college until they graduate or reach age 21. Passed May 29th, 21-12.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Dills, Foran, Hart, Lockyer, Marks, Petris, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Watson

REPUBLICANS FOR: Bergeson, Beverly, Campbell, Doolittle, Maddy, Morgan, Nielsen

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Leroy Greene, Keene, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Ellis, Royce, Russell

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Garamendi, Bill Greene, Vuich

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Craven, Davis, Richardson, Seymour

VICTIMS BILL OF RIGHTS

AB 2049 (Katz) Reinstates a portion of the 1982 "victims bill of rights" struck down by the California Supreme Court. Proposition 8 required judges to impose an additional five-year term on any convicted criminal who had been jailed previously for such felonies as rape, child molestation or murder. But the court subsequently ruled that judges had the option of not considering previous convictions when sentencing. This bill removes the judges' discretion. Passed April 24th, 28-3. Signed by the governor.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Foran, Leroy Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Presley, Roberti, Stiern, Vuich

REPUBLICANS FOR: Bergeson, Beverly, Craven, Davis, Doolittle, Ellis, Maddy, Morgan, Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Marks, Petris, Watson

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: None

DEMOCRATS NOT VOTING: Alquist, Garamendi, Bill Greene, Montoya, Robbins, Rosenthal, Torres

REPUBLICANS NOT VOTING: Campbell, Seymour

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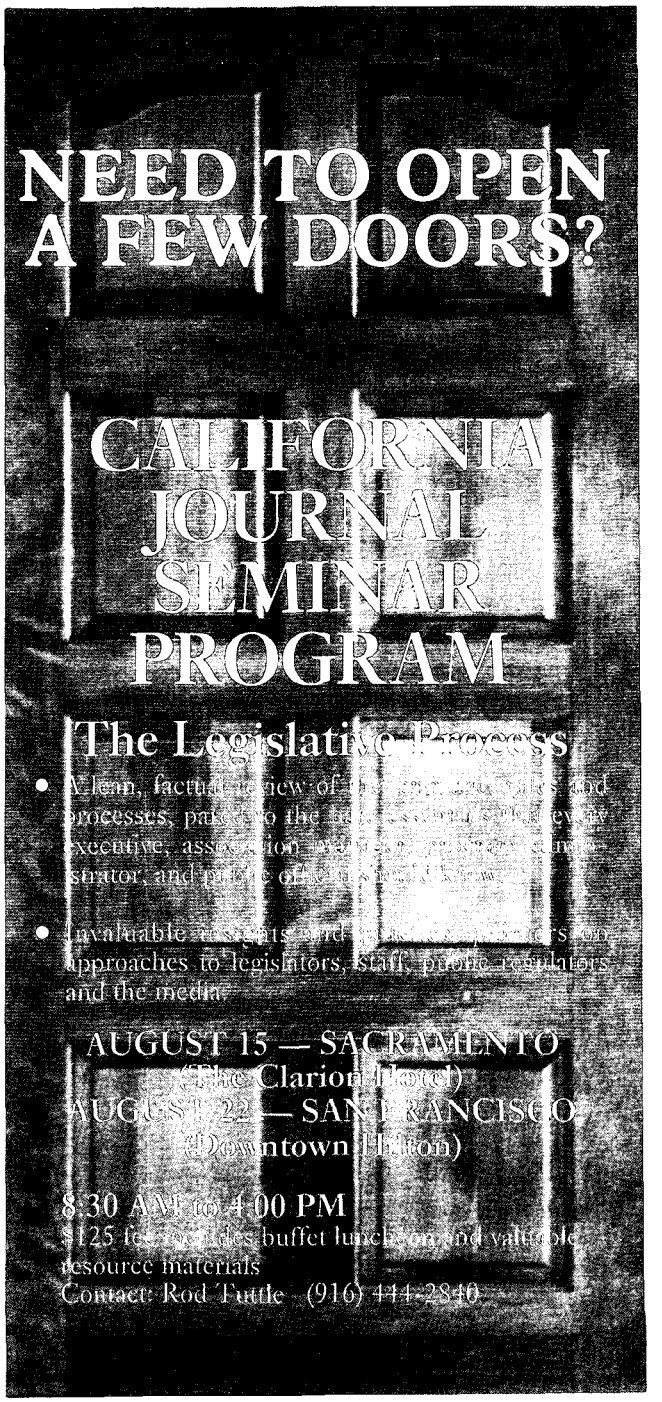
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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

A battle for the Senate

Now that the preliminaries are out of the way and Ed Zschau goes into the November election as the fourth Republican to try his hand at beating Democrat Alan Cranston in a U.S. Senate contest in California, both parties are girding for a super-expensive battle with critically important national stakes. The White House will pull out all the stops to help Zschau because California looms as a key battleground in GOP efforts to preserve a slim 53-47 majority in the Senate. But this is also a grudge match for Ronald Reagan, who helped end Cranston's eight-year service as state controller in 1966 only to see him bounce back and win three consecutive Senate terms. For the president, this is a final opportunity to topple a homestate Democrat who's been a burr under his saddle. Twenty years ago Reagan's successful political debut almost spelled the end of Cranston's political career as Republicans swept most state offices. Now, an impatient president — after an excruciatingly long wait — is eager to finish the job. For the last five years, Cranston's persistent opposition to Reagan's domestic and foreign policies has been a special irritant. Reagan would like nothing better than to deliver the final blow to an old adversary and save GOP control of the Senate in the bargain.

WHILE THE WHITE HOUSE TOOK AN OFFICIALLY NEUTRAL position in the primary, it's no secret that some of Reagan's top conservative aides hoped Southern California television commentator Bruce Herschensohn would win the Republican nomination. Zschau, a Northern California congressman with a more moderate image, was not their first choice. But once the primary returns were in, Reagan assured Zschau that he could count on full administration backing, including personal campaigning and fundraising by the president. Still, the disappointment of conservatives at seeing Zschau grab the brass ring from a field of GOP rivals with far better Reagan-support credentials should not be minimized. With White House help, Zschau can expect sizeable contributions from party coffers. But whether he'll also get the passionate support of true-blue conservatives remains to be seen. The conventional wisdom is that, after three sweeping Cranston victories against right-wing candidates, a GOP centrist will have a better shot at him. But the middle is not always congenial political territory, and Zschau may run into a difficult balancing act trying to put together a conservative-moderate coalition against Cranston.

From the White House perspective, California is a "must" state. With 34 Senate seats up for grabs, the GOP must defend 22 and many of these are held by vulnerable freshmen who eked out narrow victories in 1980 with the help of Reagan's coattails. This time the Reagan magic will count for less, and White House strategists are resigned to the loss of several GOP seats. Florida and Maryland are the best prospects for Democratic gains. But Reagan aides also concede that it will be difficult to keep Nevada, Oklahoma, South Dakota, North Carolina and Idaho in the Senate GOP column. As a result Republicans plan strong efforts in several states with Democratic seats in hopes of balancing things out. To the White House, the most promising targets are Louisiana and Missouri, where Democratic incumbents are retiring, followed by California. In fact, Cranston is the only Democratic Senate incumbent viewed as seriously vulnerable by the GOP high-command.

With the stakes that high, each side expects to spend at least $10 million in California. Zschau, a youthful 46, will try to paint the 72-year-old Cranston as a liberal big spender, a supporter of outdated programs and an over-the-hill Washington insider, out of touch with the high-tech, Yuppie, entrepreneur-oriented California of the 1980s. During the primary, Zschau relied heavily on television to gain name recognition and to develop a politically pleasing persona. In the general election he'll work to capitalize on his primary success and to put Cranston in as negative a light as possible.

Many political writers appear ready to dash off Cranston's political obituary just as they wrote him off after his disastrous 1984 presidential run. But the senator has other ideas — and some potent residual strengths as a proven survivor. He's eager to do battle with Zschau on the basis of their voting records because he's confident that he can expose his Republican challenger as a fair-weather politician who committed numerous flip-flops as he shed moderate positions in the primary to curry favor with conservatives and big-time Southern California contributors. Two days after the primary, Cranston aired commercials blasting Zschau for voting against tough provisions to clean up toxic wastes, after claiming that he cared about the environment. That was just the opening salvo. Cranston also charged that Zschau, in seeking to make himself more acceptable to the right, abandoned previous positions on the MX, aid to anti-leftist rebels in Nicaragua, arms control, the sale of sophisticated arms to Saudi Arabia and pay equity for women. "Californians may not agree with me all the time, but at least they know where I stand," Cranston remarked.

IRONICALLY, SOME CRANSTON STRATEGISTS agree with White House conservatives that Herschensohn would have been a stronger challenger because he would have been able to conduct a more aggressive campaign and would not have been hampered by charges of being wishy-washy. Before there's a rush to write him off, Cranston also believes that 18 years of Senate favors to industry, banking, agriculture and aerospace interests in California won't make it easy for Zschau to monopolize business support. "We'll split the capitalist vote," the senator predicts.

In the end, however, the race may well be shaped by the vagaries of media coverage and the predilections of political writers. In that arena, Zschau led a charmed life through the primary. Now, he may have to show whether he can last the distance as his policy views and four-year voting record in the House are put under a sharper microscope. In dealing with the basic positions of both men, California's media may be tested as much this fall as the two Senate contenders whose campaigns they will chronicle. In fact, they could be the wild card in the deck.

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1986 Sacramento Political Visitors Guide. A 20-page, four-color guide for persons visiting the capital for the purpose of making their voices heard in the political process. Contains maps of the downtown area and the Capitol building, information on the legislative process, where to wine and dine, places to stay and how to get around, 8½ x 11, 1985. $1.95 ea.; 2-49 copies, 99 cents ea.; 50-99 copies, 74 cents ea.; 100 or more, 49 cents ea.

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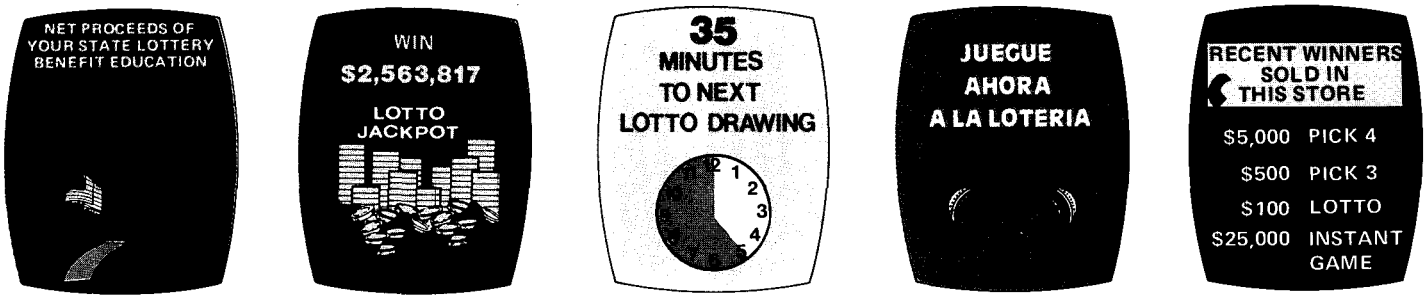
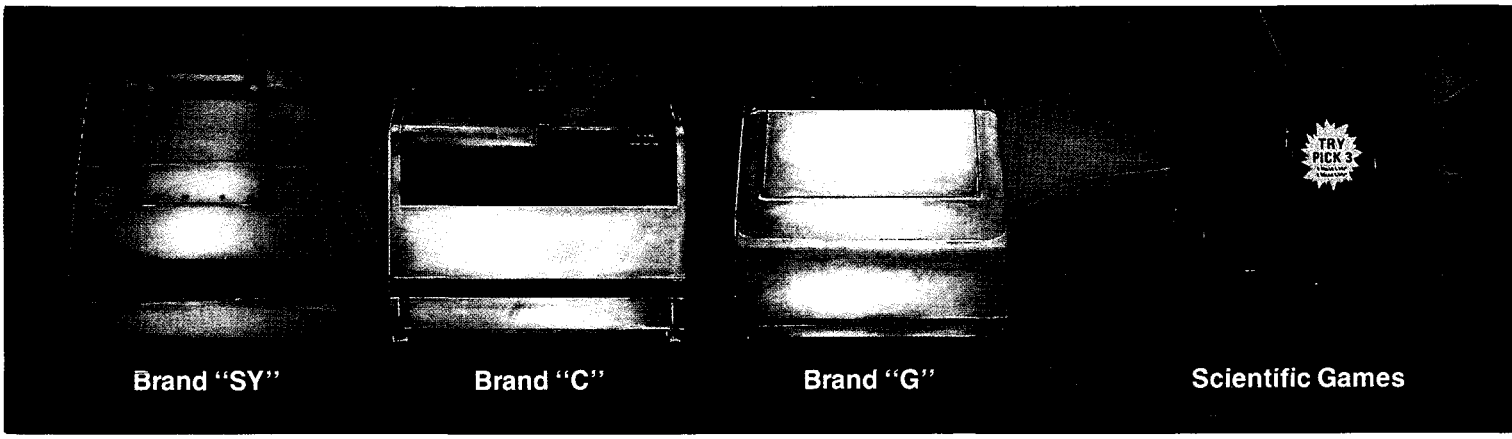
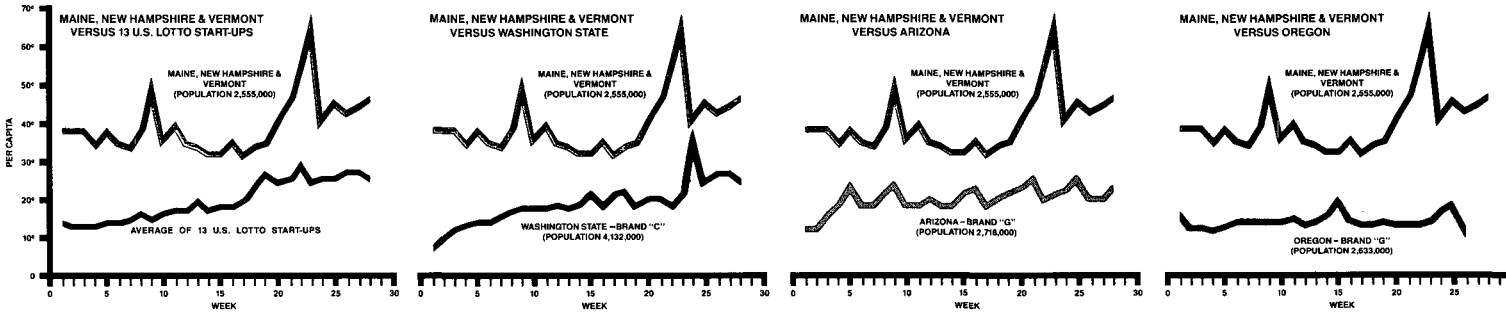
Color Television Advertising At The Point-Of-Sale Works

The difference in on-line terminals can be seen by comparing the 4 currently installed U.S. on-line lottery terminals from the lottery customer's point-of-view—the direction that counts! Scientific Games' advanced, new, state-of-the-art on-line terminal is unique and uses animated full-color television to deliver informational messages to the customer right at the point of sale.





Scientific Games' advanced, new on-line terminal is generating better than twice the lotto start-up sales than conventional on-line terminals engineered 4-7 years ago in Iowa, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. The graphs below compare sales for the first 28 weeks of lotto using Scientific Games' on-line terminal in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont to the average lotto start-up sales for 13 other U.S. lotteries and for 3 others' recent lotto start-ups.


MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE & VERMONT VERSUS 13 U.S. LOTTO START-UPS
MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE & VERMONT (POPULATION 2,555,000)
AVERAGE OF 13 U.S. LOTTO START-UPS
MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE & VERMONT VERSUS WASHINGTON STATE
WASHINGTON STATE – BRAND "C" (POPULATION 4,132,000)
MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE & VERMONT VERSUS ARIZONA
ARIZONA – BRAND "G" (POPULATION 2,716,000)
MAINE, NEW HAMPSHIRE & VERMONT VERSUS OREGON
OREGON – BRAND "G" (POPULATION 2,633,000)
PER CAPITA
WEEK

On-Line On-Time

Scientific Games has started up all 5 of its on-line state lottery systems on-time (Iowa, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Illinois video).

Unheard-Of Reliability And Up-Time

Scientific Games' on-line lottery system in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, using the highly reliable fault-tolerant Stratus computer, has set an industry start-up record of 8 months and 15 days of continuous operation before a communications problem briefly brought the system down (the Stratus remaining up). As of May 27, 1986 (when this ad was written), the system has again been in continuous operation for 76 consecutive days (for a total of 332 days for the Stratus computer). As of May 27, 1986, Scientific Games' on-line system in Iowa has been in continuous operation for 28 days since its original on-time start-up.

Scientific Games, Inc. The Full Service Lottery Company

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